

The Happiness of a People

In the Wisdom of their Rulers

DIRECTING

And in the Obedience of their Brethren

ATTENDING

Unto what Israel ought to do :

RECOMMENDED IN A

SERMON

Before the Honourable GOVERNOUR and COUNCIL, and
the Respected DEPUTIES of the Massachusetts Colony
in New-England.

Preached at Boston, May. 3d. 1676. being the day of
ELECTION there.

By WILLIAM HUBBARD Minister of Ipswich.

Exod. 18. 21. *Moreover thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of Truth.*

Rom. 13. 1. *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no Power but God.*

Pal 44. 1. *Happy is the people that is in such a case, yea happy is that people whose God is the Lord.*

Ubi Ordinis defectus ibi exoritur haec fulmina, in terra commotiones, in Mari inundationes, in corporibus Aegritudines, in urbibus, Seditiones, in animabus peccata. O do continet Caelum, terrestria, Ordo est in intelligibilibus, Ordo in sensibilibus, Ordo in astris, Ordo in omnibus. Nax.

BOSTON, Printed by John Foster. 1676.

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TO THE 'HONOURABLE

John Leveret Esq:

Governour of the Mattachusetts Colony,

Together with the rest of the Honourable Council of Magistrates
of the said Colony.

WHereas it hath been customary and commendable in former
and less curious times, it seems in this critical age, not only
expedient, but necessary to send such discourses as the ensuing
abroad into the world under the shadow & protection of some
Worthies, whose countenance & authority may defend them
from any malevolence they may be incident unto: Wherefore the following Sermon
being by providence now called forth into publick view, I am necessarily emboldened
to dedicate it unto your Names, not knowing to whom the patronage of it doth more
properly belong. As it is a favour from you, I may the better expect it in that you
give the first occasion to any Elucubrations of mind about it: As it is any testi-
mony of Obsequance from me, none may better then you deserve it. I never intend-
ed any further publication then the preaching, lest such Crambe his cocta might
not relish well in the Palates of this curious Age, so plentifully furnished with all
varieties of Wisdome & Knowledge, but for their sakes who by the exigence of the
Times, and present distress of the Warre, were denied the opportunity to be of the
Auditory, I have condescended to make it Legible. I shall not insist upon any A-
pology about the Subject chosen to treat of, it giving so fair an occasion to speak
of all the most important duties that either Rulers or People can be concerned in
whenever juncture of affairs should come upon them. It cannot be denied but in
the latter end of the former year, the wisest amongst us were under sad apprehen-
sions concerning the issue of the present troubles that were then come, and
daily coming upon us, in regard of the Rage of the Heathen so far let loose against
us, and those that were concerned in the Election of Magistrates for this present
year, were ready to fear they might bespeak the persons on whom the next Election
should fall with the words of the prophet, Thou hast Cloathing, be thou our
Ruler, and let this ruine be under thine hand. But Thanks be to Almighty
God that hath verified that antient Proverb of the Hebrews, to our late expe-
rience, Cum duplicantur lateres, hinc venit Moses: And as Israel was never
brought into greater Straights then a little before Pharaoh and his Host were to
be drowned in the red Sea. so hath it in a sence been with our selves. There could
not but be a very sad face of things in Israel, when their first King had by his ill
Steuage and bad Conduct of affairs, after a long Tempest of Warre shipwracke
king.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

himself, his Family, all his Kingdome in that fatal Battle on the mountains of Gilboa, But he whose sole Prerogative it is to bring good out of evil, ordered that disastrous Calamity to become an occasion to usher in the greatest prosperity that ever that Nation enjoyed either before or since that time. For as God when he had a purpose to exalt his people to be the Head of the Nations amongst whom they lived, and not the tayle, he infused a spirit of Counsel and Wisdome into the minds of their Leaders, Instructing them to find out the right and ready way of their future peace and tranquility, together with a spirit of Love and Obedience in the People to attend thereunto. It is a good Omen unto Israel when the Government of the Tribes falls into such hands as have Understanding in the times to know what Israel ought to doe; it will then be no hard matter to persuade their Brethren to comply with their Commands. As every season of a many life carries its particular duties along with it, so doth every age of the World bring with it particular duties as the work of that Generation, As it concerns every judicious Christian to know the one, so it doth every Head or Leader of the Tribes to be acquainted with the other: as also prudently to observe the fit season and peculiar manner of acting for the performing such duties upon which narrow point depends the success of all humane affairs & undertakings. Because to every purpose there is time and judgment, therefore is the misery of man great upon him, saith Solomon, i. e. Because time and Chance hapneth to them all, the sons of men that know not their times, are taken as Fishes in an evill net. If any thing be found hinted in the following Discourse, that hath any tendency that way, or may become an help thereunto, as it is all I aimed at, so shall I rest abundantly satisfied, if what is humbly offered in that kind, find favourable acceptance with your selves or others. As for the times in which, and the place where our Lot is cast: although in many respects we may say with the Psalmist, The Lines are fallen to us in pleasant places, and that we have a goodly Heritage, yet must we owne, that what with the imperfections of our minds & Wills, & what with many other temptations that ly before us in the work of our Generation concurring therewith, we have met with a sufficient degree of affliction and trouble, enough to ballance our hearts, and keep us from being exalted above measure: yet need not this be any Remora, or hindrance unto us, in the present duty and Service we are called unto, there being no reason to be rendered why we should not walk together in Unity, Love and Peace in those things whereunto we have attained, because in some others, and possibly those of less moment, some may be otherwise minded. Concerning which minute and lesser Differences, I shall not presume here to offer any thing, tending to make the least alteration in any of your judgments, being fully perswaded that in all the main and essential matters of Religion, both of Faith and Order, as well as righteousness, you are all of one mind & judgment, & will all both jointly and severally exert your most strenuous endeavours, for the promoting the honour and Glory of God, and the good of those under your charge: In

The Epistle Dedicatory.

which endeavours if you shall persist, it may be hoped that as hitherto God hath saved your selves, as well as your Predecessors, to become as a wall and defence to his vineyard, where planted, so there may be still found of you that shall help to build the waste places, and raise up the foundations of many Generations; and that you (notwithstanding the present Combustions) shall be called the Repairers of the breach, and the restorers of paths to dwell in. It is possible you may be importunately molested with the clamours of these or those, to make this or that change in our course, to gratifie particular mens humours, of which you need take no more notice then the skilfull Pilot at the helme uses to doe of the cries of the unskilfull, fearfull Passengers tht think that course will ruine the vessil, which is the only way to preserve it. There is an old Fable, that when there hapned a great contention about the weather, those of the high Countreyes complained that they were almost burnt up with drought for want of rain, and those of the valleys said they were almost drowned for want of Sun-shining dayes: Jupiter sent them word by Mercury the weather should be as it had been. Possibly some under your Government are as ready to complain of too much restraint, as others are of too much liberty. I humbly conceive you cannot doe better, then to let things be as they have been heretofore, to countenance and encourage those that fear God and work righteousness, but sharply to rebuke and timely to repress whatever is contrary to sound doctrine, or apparently tends to hinder the power of Godliness, and progress of true Religion, with all other profaness or unrighteousness, that under the shadow of your Government we may lead quiet lives in all godliness and honesty, yet keeping in mind the wise caveat of our Saviour, that in gathering up the tares you root not up the wheat also. It is one great part of the unhappiness of this life, that neither wise nor good men are all of one mind, but yet all due care had need be taken, that differences be made neither more nor greater then they are, or carried on with such animosity or bitterness, as should prejudice the interest of Religion, or welfare of the Commonwealth. Yea possibly the differences in our minds that occasion most disturbance arise only from that which they call *αὐτεὶα τῆς ἀρετῆς* so as if things were not strained at both ends further then the equity of the Rule will allow, all might well hold together, when the overstraining of things is oft times ready to break all to pieces. If God in whose hand our times are, and who sets the bounds of our habitations, shall as he hath begun, goe on to perform his whole work upon his people, and send such rest unto his Churches here, that the Answer so be returned to the Messengers of the Nations shall be, The Lord hath founded our Sin, and that the poor of the people shall trust in it. How can it better be improved, then by taking care that the Churches under your care in this Jurisdiction may be edified, walking in the fear of God, that the Lord our God may be with us as he was with our Fathers, that he may not leave us nor forsake us, nor our Posterity after us. Which to effect, I humbly conceive, there is no way more probable, then by interesting them as much and as soon as may be, in all the privileges

The Epistle Dedicatory.

that Christian Religion allows, & as they grow up, to engage them thoroughly and seriously in all the duties it requires; to take care that it be done by those whom it more immediately concerns, is certainly a duty in special incumbent on your selves. To this end I may commend to your Consideration, the Political Fathers of the Country, the example of Abraham, whom we find both approved & rewarded of God for commanding his children and his household after him to keep the way of the Lord, and to do Justice and Judgment, that the Lord might bring upon him that which he had spoken of him. If he were not much mistaken who said it was morally impossible to rivet Christian Religion into the body of a nation without Infant Baptisme, by proportion it will as necessarily follow that the neglect or disuse thereof, will as directly tend to root it out. How far the Command given to Joshua by God himself to circumcise the Children of Israel, i.e. to take order that Circumcision should be used again among the people (by that means to root the reproach of Egypt from off the Children of Israel) may be looked upon as obliging to your selves I shall not now say, ye doubtless if what was written or happened to them was intended as matter of example and admonition to us, upon whom the ends of the world are come, some use may and ought to be made of such Declarations of Gods will. Whatever Indulgence may be judged needfull to be used to some that may be of different apprehensions, I have adventured to say something in the following Discourse, for clearing the duty of Rulers in matters of Religion from mistakes, and stating the bounds of moderate Toleration (so far as the time allotted for such an exercise would allow) not so much for direction to your selves, as for the information of others who by their too much rigidness on the one hand, or laxness on the other, may be ready to obstruct the Churches peace, but not promote the purity of Gospel worship, placidè contra sentientem ferre is no small piece of Christian prudence, the want of which I fear hath done much hurt in this poor Country, as well as in other reformed Churches. Dissenters in Religion being not much unlike the Seditious in the State, who by fair means may be gained, but by too much severity are apt to run into incurable opposition and obstinacy. It must be owned for your future Honour that much hath been done by you to carry on the work of God in this Generation, yet may it be feared that his words will be found too true, (a man much employed and approved by your selves, while he was conversant in this world) that unless many things were done for the further settling of the matters of Religion amongst us before this Generation went off the Stage, they that came after would have cause to say, that their Predecessors had left much of their work undone.

Thus craving your acceptance of this my small mite, which I am willing to cast into the Churches Treasury, under the countenance of your Authority, I shall no further trouble you this way. I have made no material alteration in any expression

The Epistle Dedicatory.

prison, nor addition of any thing but what was intended to have been spoken,
if time would then have given leave.

The Lord fill you all with the Spirit of *Wisdom* and *Connell*, and make you
as the men of his right hand, whome he hath made strong for himself, and grant
you may be found like *David*, who being chosen to be the *Shepard* of *Gods* *Israel*
led them according to the integrity of his heart, and guided them by the skillfulness
of his hand, which is the Prayer of,

Your humble Servant

W. H.

Some Faults have escaped in the Press which the Reader is desired to correct by reading. In p. 4. l. 28. head for Decades. l. 29. Decades for heads. p. 5. l. 19. best for bear. p. 7. l. 30. several for general. p. 9. l. 6. read residence p. 17. l. 23. immersed for emerged. p. 18. l. 16. badg's for bodyes. p. 19. l. 9 & 20. l. 36. Apologue for *Apologus*. p. 27. l. 25. leave out, here. p. 22. l. 23. our worst for or worse. l. 21. vigor for rigor. l. 23. *peccatur* for *peccat*. p. 33. l. 13 l-sacks for Israels. p. 37. l. 26. fifth for first. p. 39. l. 14. for halt hate. p. 40. l. 13 tardus for terricus. p. 43. l. 27. booty for body. p. 45 l. 18. rights for rites. l. 32 wars for way. The like errors in spelling or pointing, may be helped by them that read, as where each is printed for such. p. 36. l. 36.



1 Chron. 12. 32. Of the Children of Issachar, which were men that had understanding of the times so know what Israel ought to do, the heads of them were an hundred, and all their Brethren were at their Commandment.

IF ever those words of Wisdome, *Proverbs. 8. 15. By me Kings Reign, and Princes decree Justice*, were true of any of the Kings and Princes of the Earth, they were true of *David*, who in his publick, as well as private capacity approved himself a *Man after Gods own heart*; leaving an unimitable pattern to the Kings of all succeeding ages, both of piety in obeying God and of wisdome and justice in ruling over men: as if the Book wherein *Samuel* wrote the manner of the Kingdome, had been perfectly transcribed in his life and Government. It was not undeservedly therefore, that after so large an edition of the whole History of the Acts, and Reign of *David*, in the two first Books of the Kings, such a considerable addition should be made to that part of the History, which concerned his entrance upon his Kingdome, in this twelfth Chapter of the first book of the *Chronicles*, where we have the triumphant manner thereof at large described, being attended therein with a great Host as it is called, *ver. 22. like the Host of God*: from which verse, to the end of this Chapter, it is very remarkable how the *Penman* of this sacred Chronicle, like some Divine Herald, is Marshalling the respective bands of the said Host, under the particular Banners of their severall Tribes, assigning unto each, some distinct Character, as a special badge of honour according as they best deserved, either for the skilfulness of their Captains and Leaders, the number and valour of their followers, & willingness or readines in both: to promote the design in hand, which was the turning the Kingdome of *Saul* unto *David*.

Amongst the rest of the Tribes, as they are here ranked in this Chapter, special notice is taken of the Tribe of *Issachar*, of which Tribe although no great matter had been foretold in the Propheticall Benediction, either of *Jacob* or *Moses*, yet is there here in the Text a very signal testimony given, both to their piety and prudence, to their unity and magnanimity, any of which cannot be conceived, but to tend more then a little to the successful carrying on that great affair which now they had in hand: so as at that time, what *Solomon* saith of his vertuous Woman, *Prov.* 31. 29. might very fitly have been said of the Tribe of *Issachar*, *many daughters have done virtuously but thou excellest them all.*

In the words of the Text there are four things very obvious to the view of the observant Reader.

1. The Distribution of the whole Tribe into its integral parts or constituent Members, as to their political order, *viz.* the Heads and the Brethren, of which two united together consisted the body of the Tribe, as is here implied.

2. The qualification of each part, fitly disposing them to a regular performance of the duty incumbent on either, for the good of the whole. 1. Wisdom, in those that were the Heads, described both by its specification, understanding of the times. 2. By its application, to know what *Israel* ought to do. 2. Willingness in the Brethren, to attend the advice and counsel of their Leaders, they were at their Commandment.

3. The regular and orderly proceeding of each part, the which is necessarily implied in the words; that when the heads of the Tribe had counselled and determined what was needful to be done, the Brethren were ready to put their resolves in Execution. It was not in *Issachar*, as *Anacharsis* the *Philosopher*, sometimes complained of the tumultuous proceedings in the popular Common-wealth at *Athens*, that wise and grave men deliberated on things, but fools and mad men resolved thereof: but at this time in *Issachar*, the body of the people were ready to put in execution what those who had understanding in the times judged needful to be done.

4. The entire unity of the Tribe amongst themselves, declaring the unanimous consent of the whole; in that it is said, *all their Brethren were at their Commandment*, *sc.* at the Commandment of the two hundred which were the Heads, which doth justly advance the gallantry of the Action of the tribe of *Issachar* in this affair, above that of any of the rest of the Tribes by the same proportion, by which our Saviour preferred the bounty of the poor Widow above all the rest of the Contributors; for as she put into the Treasury all which she had, so doth this Tribe send all their whole Stock to increase the Host of *David*: which if they were not so many thousands as some of the other Tribes might send, yet seeing there were none that staid behind

behind, it was for want of number, but not of good-will, if they did equal or exceed the rest of the tribes.

I shall only paraphrase a little upon the words, to give the sense and meaning of them, before I commend any thing from thence to our present consideration.

Of the Children of *Issachar*, these were the descendants of the fifth Son of *Jacob* by his Wife *Leah*, whose Lot as it seems to have fallen in one of the richest, and most fruitful soiles of the whole Land of *Canaan*, so was it more likely, as was foretold in *Jacobs blessing* to dispose the Inhabitants, by reason of the robustickness of their body (an ordinary effect of the fertility of any soyle) to couch down under a double burden of tribute then by any valour of their minds, to shake off the servile yoke. It may then not unreasonably here be demanded how it should come to pass, that this Tribe should answer this honourable character given of them, whereby they may well be thought to have at this time had the precedency of all the rest of the Tribes, both for their civil prudence, and military Discipline, as well as care of Religion. The reason given by some Interpreters seems not sufficient to solve the knot, *viz.* of those who say, that being given to Husbandry, that occasioned them to be more curious observers of times, and seasons; but nothing appears, why that may not as well be alleadged of most of the other tribes, whose fruitful hills, & fertile vales required alike prudent observation of times, & seasons for their culture: God in nature having appointed a time, & season for every work & purpose that is to be done under the sun, wherefore it may be lawfull to make conjectures in things of this nature, it may more probably be conceived, that this Tribe by its natural situation bordering upon the enemies country, or upon the account of its fertility, being more desirable, might thereby become more obnoxious to the invasions of their neighbour enemies, the Philistines, and so might either become the very seat of warr, or a through-fare of military expeditions, and so by long experience of the Calamities and service of Warr, they might become as well expert in managing the affairs of Warr, as serious in the pursuit of the meanes tending to promote a sealed, and lasting peace. It is commonly said that experience is the Mistress of fooles, yet without any diminution of their praise be it spoken, who attain wisdom at an easier rate. It is oft observed that they are, or prove the wisest of all other men, who have been trained up in her School: those impressions last the longest, that have been made by the deepest incision. *Hyssorians* say of this Tribe, that it was a land thirsty of blood, a place where many fatal battles, had, before this time as well as after, hapned to have been fought: as that of *Gideon* in the valley of *Jezreel*, the late slaughter of *Saul* and the *Israelites* on the mountains of *Giboa*, the victory over *Benhadad* and the *Syrians* neer *Aphék*, with some others

others, all hapning within the confines, or neer the Borders of the tribe of Issachar. Possibly many bloody Skirmishes had also been fought during the reign of the former King within their precincts, whereby the People of this Tribe had been experimentally taught the miseries and calamities of war, that are usually produced or prolonged for want of wisdom, and skilful conduct in them that have the chief command. They being conjoynd in one common misery, they might the more easily be united in one common remedy, viz. the advancement of a more meet person to the chief place of Rule and Government in the Nation; one approved by their own experience for his skilful & successful managing the affairs of War as well as warranted by the call of God, and therefore more likely to promote the welfare and tranquility of their own, together, with that of the rest of the Tribes of Israel. For before this time, *David* was known to have behaved himself wisely among the Servants of *Saul*, as one that knew how to go on, and to go in before the People.

The Heads of them :] there was amongst the People of Israel as it were a threefold Common-wealth, as the learned *Sigonius* speaks in his Treatise of the Commonwealth of the Hebrews, one was that of the whole People, of whom first the Judges, afterward the Kings were the chief Heads and Rulers. The other was of every City, which had its Head or chief Ruler; as we read in several places of the Scripture, as *Judg.* 9. 30. 1 *King.* 22. 30. 2 *Chron.* 34. 8. The third was that of every Tribe, which had its Head or chief Ruler, 1 *Chron.* 27. 16. 2 *Chron.* 19. 11, called the Prince or Head of the Tribe : under whom were the chief Heads or Rulers of every Family in that Tribe : For as every Tribe consisted of several Families, unto one of which might all the descendants of that Tribe be reduced, so was some one person, either by the eminency of his Gifts, or dignity of his Birth-right, usually advanced to be the chief Ruler, or decedes of that Family, according to the distribution of the People into so many Heads according to *Jethro's* advice, *Exod.* 18. 21. At this time it seems there were two hundred Heads of the chief Families of the Tribe of Issachar, whose wisdom and integrity the rest of the Tribe had such confidence in, that they were willing to refer the managing of all their civil Affairs, and great concerns to their prudence and discretion, engaging themselves to be ready to put in execution what ever should by their joyned consent be determined and agreed upon. So sweet was the accord between those Heads, and their Brethren, that they seemed like one indure body, animated and directed by one and the same Spirit and Principle of life and Wisdom.

That had understanding of the times :] Noting all that Wisdom that belongs to Rulers Divine and Humane. For by times we are to understand things done in those times, by a metonymy of the adjunct. And for the word

word understanding; it is expressed by two words in the Hebrew, yet not unfixedly translated by one, according to the use of our Language: the one seems to note the act of the mind, in way of simple apprehension: the other the act of the judgement, in way of accurate consideration & judicating of the time and season with other circumstances, discerning when all things are laid together in the ballances what doth preponderate, & so most needful to be attended: this expression, Esther. 1. 12. is interpreted by knowing law and judgement, and such are there called wise men; according to which notion Solomon tells us that a wise mans heart discerneth time and judgement, *Ecc. 8. 5.* both the thing which, and the time when it is to be done. The Hebrew word here and elsewhere translated understanding, means the same with that which in Latine is called *Prudentia*, or *recta ratio agibilium*, sc. knowing the right reason of things that are to be done; it cometh from & hath a near cognation with a word that signifies to build. A wise man that hath any designe to bring about, is like an Architect, who first frameth in his minde an Idea of that which he purposeth to erect, whereby he may foresee how one piece must depend upon another, and accordingly provide such materials, as will bear suite together, for the carrying on his fabrick: for, as one saith well, they are not the wisest men that know most, but they that know what is most useful and proper to bring about the designe they have in hand: nor can a man be thought rightly to understand a business that doth not see through the circumstances, it is cloathed with: for many times the circumstances may much alter a case, oft times it cometh to pass, that those things which considered in themselves, and of their own nature seem most directly tending to such an end, yet falling in conjunction with other things, produce a contrary effect. Thus are the most probable means oft disappointed, being prevented by time and chance, which they wanted wisdom to foresee, for want of which foresight great is the misery that men bring upon themselves and others: yet is not a superficial wisdom sufficient for this purpose: many may be deceived by a plausible appearance of things, into which they have not a through sight and discerning. By a mistake of this nature Absalom and all the heads of the people that were with him ruined themselves and one another, and so were overthrown, not having understanding of the times in that juncture of affairs: The Counsel of *Achitophel* says *Hushai* is not good at this time, which in all those dayes was as the Oracle of God, and was so in that exigent, if it had been discerned by the heads of the people then present as to the design they had in hand: no doubt but at that time Davids Prayer (to which the Almighty said *Amen*) was to take place for the turning the Counsel of *Achitophel* into foolishness: but according to Man, the ruine of Absalom and his party proceeded from their not understanding of the times which made them neglect the good counsel of *Achitophel*, as it is called, 2 Sam. 17. 14.

To know what Israel ought to do,] By Israel we are most commonly to understand not the person, but the posterity of Jacob, who were more frequently stiled after that honourable appellation imposed on him after his wrestling with, and prevailing over the Angl, then by that name he received from the casual event which hapned at his birth, whence he was called Jacob. But in this place by Israel we are by another Trope (as often elsewhere) to understand, the holy people in covenant with God, separated and distinguished thereby, from the rest of the people of the world, which is emphatically to be noted here ; for as Wisdome is properly the knowledge of the right way to the best end, so is the end that Israel ought to aime at, far differing from that which the rest of the World designe to themselves, consequently the means or wisdome that must be improved for that end must be far differing also, as neither flowing from the same fountain, nor resting on the same Principles or Foundation, but altogether Eccentrick thereunto. To give an instance suitable to the occasion before us, the end of civil policy or Government in the Rulers of this World, is, that Men may live peaceably and quietly one with another ; therefore looking unto no higher end, no wonder if they pitch upon no other means, then those that seem most probable to bring about that end, *viz.* attendance unto those Rules of Righteousness and wayes of honesty, that are known by the light of nature, called *jus gentium* or *jus naturale*. But the end that Israel ought to aime at, is, that men may lead a quiet life in all godliness and honesty, as Paul speaks, 1 Tim. 2. 2. which one Text were enough to confute all those that would debar civil Rulers from intermedling in matters of Religion : but how far they may and ought to interpose their authority in things of that nature, there may be occasion to speak more afterward, by Gods assistance.

Otherwise it would follow, that the Magistrate is only to take care, that men may live quietly and peaceably one with another, whither they live honestly or no : but by the Apostles Rule, if the Magistrate is to take care that they may live honestly, as well as quietly and peaceably, he must in like manner see that they live godly as well as honestly : which necessarily implies, that he ought to take care for godliness, in the observation of the first Table, as well as for honesty in the observation of the second.

Further also, where the end that Israel aims at may be coincident with that which is aimed at by the rest of the world, yet may not Israel take that liberty to compass that end, which others of the World may, at least use to do ; for Israel must not do evil that good may come thereof : For as the Apostle James saith, *the wisdom that descendeth not from above is earthly, sensual & devilish*, such as mens ends are, such will the means be which they make use of to bring about those ends : yet oft times worldly men will make use of very evil means to bring about a good end. The Rule Israel ought to walk

by is to suffer rather than to sin : so our Saviour Christ tells his Disciples, what is that custome of the Gentiles, but will not allow them so to do, *Mat* 23. 25, 26.

In the particular case before us, and the rest of the Tribes of Israel at this time, it was not difficult to know what they ought to do ; if they did but consider the call of God in anointing David to be King, as well as the, qualifying him with Royal gifts for that purpose, which considerations alone could not be counterbalanced by all the allegations on the behalf of the house of Saul, which was now rejected of God, which Abner knew to be true, as he confessed afterward, although he set himself to uphold the contrary Faction.

Their Brethren were at their Commandment,] in the Hebrew, it is, they were at their mouth. The mouth being the Organ designed for the forming of words, where by to express the conceptions of the minde, it is not put to signifie Words, or Commandments that are uttered thereby, as it is here translated in the Text. Hereby is noted the unanimity and sweet agreement between the Heads and the People of this Tribe, as if one Spirit had run through the whole body thereof. An happy presage of good success in the business they had now in hand, if the rest of the Tribes were in the manner affected, as is very probable they were in a great measure. This Spirit of unity and obedience, being most exemplarily found in this Tribe of Issachar : the strength also of their courage and resolution is necessarily implied here ; as if they were ready to adventure their lives in whatever service they might be put upon, like the Souldiers of the Centurion in the Gospel, who were always ready to come, or to go, or to do whatsoever their Commander should put them upon. If any should ask, whither the knowledge of what Israel ought to do, is intended of the Heads of the Tribe only, or of the Brethren also ? I answer, of both, according to due proportion : that which the Heads of the Tribe advised unto, was apprehended by their Brethren as most behooful for their several good, accordingly they are with meet courage and resolution of minde ready to put the same in execution. Guidance belongs to their Leaders, Obedience to their followers, whose wisdom it is to obey rather than dispute the Commands of their Superiours.

The words present us with as perfect a pattern, and as compleat a model of a well tempered principallity, or common-wealth, as any where we meet with in all the sacred History, and that in these four respects,

1. *As to the beauty of their Order.*
2. *As to the wisdom of their Conduct.*
3. *As to the Unity of their Counsels.*
4. *As to the Strength of their Courage and Resolution.* All which I shall endeavour

endeavour to make out, before I commend any thing to your thoughts by way of Application. These are as four Elements to the political World, where these do all meet, they will make any part of the earth a Paradise, like those four Rivers that watered Eden: It must needs be a flourishing state, where may be seen due order in the constitution of a Government, and administration thereof, True Wisdom in the Rulers, Entire Unity in the people, joynd with meet Courage for the execution of the prudent commands of their Leaders: of such a place it may be said, that it is *beautifull as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem, terrible &c. Cant. 6.4.*

In the first place I call it *the Beauty of their Order*, and so it is, whether we respect their Constitution, or their Administration. *Ubi Ordo dominatur, laudat Nazianzen, pulchritudo splendet*: that is, *where Order prevails, Beauty shines forth*. It was Order that gave Beauty to this goodly fabrick of the world, which before was but a confused Chaos, without form and void. Therefore Job, when he would set out the terribleness of the grave, and the dismal state of death, he calls it, the Land of darkness, and the shadow of death without any Order. *Job. 10. 22.* For Order is as the soul of the Universe, the life and health of things natural, the beauty and strength of things Artificial. When the prophet Isaiah, would describe a place designed to destruction, *Isa. 34. 11.* he says, *the line of confusion, and the stones of emptiness shall be stretched over it.* The better to understand this we may consider, what Order is? The Schools tell us, it is, *Parium, impariumq; sua cuiq; tribuens loca, apta dispositio*. Such a disposition of things in themselves equal and unequal, as gives to every one their due and proper place. It suited the wisdom of the infinite and omnipotent Creator, to make the world of differing parts, which necessarily supposes that there must be differing places, for those differing things to be disposed into, which is Order. The like is necessary to be observed in the rational and political World, where persons of differing endowments and qualifications need a differing station to be disposed into, the keeping of which, is both the beauty and strength of such a Society. Naturalists tell us that beauty in the body arises from an exact symmetry or proportion of contrary humours, equally mixed one with another: so doth an orderly and artificial distribution of diverse materials, make a comely Building, while homogeneous bodies (as the depths of waters in the Sea, and heaps of sand on the Shore) run into confused heaps, as bodies incapable to maintain an order in themselves. So that it appears, whoever is for a parity in any Society, will in the issue reduce things into an heap of confusion. That God who assumes to himself the title of being the God of Glory, is the God of peace, of Order, and not of Confusion, *1. Cor. 14. 33.* compar'd with *vir. 40* He is so in his Palace of the world, as well as in his temple of his Church: in both
may

may be observed a sweet subordination of persons and things, each unto other. As for his Temple of the Church, whither we consider the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, the Holy of Holies, or the middle part, or the outward Court : a distinction of order may be observed in all. Look we into the third heavens the high and holy place, as a royal Pavilion pitched by the Almighty for the residence of his Glory, although it be furnished with Inhabitants suitable to the nature of that celestial throne, yet are they not all of one rank and order; there are Cherubims as well as Seraphims, Arch-Angels as well as Angels, Thrones and Dominions, as well as Principalities and Powers. There are also, as in a middle rank, the Spirits of just men made perfect : though no unclean thing may enter in, yet have they not attained their perfection in Glory, but do yet expect an addition of Glory : but in the outward Court, as there are diversities of gifts, so there are of places, and order : some that are to rule and go before, others that are to be subject, and to follow. *Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves.* Heb. 13. 17. If we shall but descend and take notice of the firmament, the pavement of that glorious mansion place, although it be the roof of this lower world, may we not there see, one star differing from another in glory ? There is placed the Sun, the lord and ruler of the day, as well as the Moon, she rules the night, together with the stars, as the common-people of that upper region, who yet doe immediately veyle their glory, and withdraw their light, when their bridegroom cometh forth of his chamber. In the firmament of the air, may we not see the lofty eagle in his flight far surmounting the little choristers of the valleys ? The like disproportion who observes not amongst those creatures that take their pastime in the deep waters, or that range upon the high mountains, hunting for their prey ? And hath not the same Almighty Creator and disposer of all things made some of the sons of men as far differing in height of body one from the other, as Saul from the rest of the people, than whom he was higher from the shoulders upward, or as much as the sons of Anak did excel Zacheus in procerity of stature. And are not some advanced as high above others in dignity and power, as much as the cedars of Lebanon the low shrubs of the valley ? It is not then the result of time or chance, that some are mounted on horse-back, while others are left to travell on foot. That some have with the Centurion, power to command, while others are required to obey. *The poor and the rich meets together, the Lord is the maker of them both.* The Almighty hath appointed her that sits behind the mill, as well as him that ruleth on the throne. And herein hath he as well consulted the good of humane nature, as the glory of his own wisdom and power : Those of the superior rank, but making a supply of what is wanting in the other : otherwise might not the foolish and the ignorant be like to loose themselves in the

Wilderness, if others were not as eyes to them. The fearful and the weak might be destroyed, if others more strong and valiant, did not protect and defend them. The poor and the needy might starve with hunger and cold, were they not fed with the morsels, and warmed with the fleece of the wealthy. Is it not found by experience, that the greatest part of mankind, are but as tools and Instruments for others to work by, rather than any proper Agents to effect any thing of themselves: In peace how would most people destroy themselves by slothfulness and security? In war they would be destroyed by others, were it not for the wisdom and courage of the valliant. If the virtue and the valour of the good did not interpose by their authority, to prevent and save, the vice of the bad would bring mischief enough upon places to ruine both, else why is it so frequently intimated in the latter end of the book of Judges, that in those dayes, when there was no king in Israel, but every man was left to do what seemed right in his own eyes, that these and those enormities brake forth, that violated all Lawes, and offered violence even unto nature it self? *Judg.* 17. 6. & 18. 1. & 19. 1. & 21. 25. Thus if Order were taken away, soon would confusion follow, and every evill work, *James.* 3. 16. Nothing therefore can be imagined more remote either from right reason, or true religion, then to think that because we were all once equal at our birth, and shall be again at our death, therefore we should be so in the whole course of our lives. In fine, a body would not be more monstrous and deformed without an Head, nor a ship more dangerous at Sea without a Pilot, nor a flock of sheep more ready to be devoured without a Shepherd, then would humane Society be without an Head, and Leader in time of danger, which in a difficult case the Gileadites are forced to acknowledge, when they flee for refuge to Jephthah, that mighty man of valour, to be their Captain and Head, to save them from the hand of the children of Ammon, whom a little before they had cast off, as an eye-sore and superfluous branch of their family, not worthy to enjoy any part of inheritance amongst his brethren.

The like must be acknowledged concerning the order of Administration, as hath been already said concerning the order of constitution, whither in the church or state. The order of Solomons household, was an astonishing sight to the Queen of Sheba, as well as the Wisdom of his other contrivements. *1. King.* 10. 5. The Apostle Paul rejoyceth to behold the order of the Church of the Colossians, as well as their Faith. The same Apostle gives a special direction to the Church of Corinth, that all things be done decently and in order, *κωστήτως*, alluding to the administration of Rule in an Army marshalled in its several ranks, under the wise conduct of skilfull Leaders, then which nothing can be more comely or comfortable to themselves, & terrible to their enemies. On this account it seems to be, that such severe animad-

Animadversions have been made upon all occasions on the violaters of Order, *mark them that walk disorderly*, saith Paul, *2. Thess. 3. 6. 11. and have no fellowship with them.* And in another place, he wishes they were cut off that troubled them, no doubt by their disorderly acting. This is the first Command with promise, *sc.* the observation of the Order established by divine appointment, betwixt Superiours and Inferiours. No wonder therefore that when the people of Israel were ready, instead of punishing the disorder and rebellion of Corah, and his company, to countenance the business, God himself steps in to quiet the Tumult, and by Moses his mouth tells the present offenders, and in them all others of the like stamp, that as they would make an innovation in the camp, so he himself would make a new thing in the earth, that it should open its mouth, and at once, without any further trial or delay, swallow down and devour those presumptuous offenders, that had attempted to violate the order God himself had so newly established in the Camp. Behold ye dispersers of order and Government, and wonder, that God whose glory it is to be stilled, long-suffering, Patient and slow to wrath, is so quick in punishing this sin, as to prevent any future hope of mercy by Repentance, to those so notorious breakers of Order. What were this but to Chaos the world again, and to make *Instabilis terra, innabilis unda?* God will therefore have after ages to read the greatness of this sin, in the dreadfulness of the punishment thereof. The earth is not willing to bear offenders of this nature, as we may see by the instance of the old world, whose inhabitants when they fill the earth with violence, they are cut down out of time, and carried off the earth with a flood. Absalom that rebellious wretch, the earth is not willing to bear such a burthen: yea hell it self is as it were disquered by them from beneath, For that Kingdome of darkness is not without its order, without which it could not subsist, as our Saviour argues, if Satan were divided against himself his kingdome could not stand. And this is the first thing worthy our observation, in this excellent Platform of Policy. The second followeth which is,

2. *The wisdom of their Conduct.* Their Heads had such understanding of the times, *as to know what Israel ought to do.*

In a curious piece of Architecture, that which first offers it self to the view of the beholder, is the beauty of the structure, the proportion that one piece bears to another, wherein the skill of the Architect most shews it self. But that which is most Admirable in sensitive and rational beings, is that inward principle, seated in some one part, able to guid the whole, and influence all the rest of the parts, with an apt and regular motion, for their mutual good and safety. The wisdom of the Creatour was more seen in the breath of life, breathed into the Nostrils of Adam, whereto he became a living soul, then in the feature and beauty of the goodly frame of his body.

formed out of the dust, as the Poet speaks, *Os homini sublime dedit*----- The Architect of that curious piece hath placed the Head in the fore-front, and highest sphear, where are lodged all the senses, as in a Watch-Tower, ready to be improved upon all occasions, for the safety and preservation of the whole. There are placed those that look out at the windows, to foresee evil and danger approaching, accordingly to alarm all the other inferiour powers, to take the signal and stand upon their guard for defence of the whole. There also is the seat of the Daughters of musick, ready to give audience to all reports and messages that come from abroad: if any thing should occurre or happen nearer home, or further off, imparting either fear or evil, or hope of good; Their work is immediately to dispatch messages through the whole province of nature, to summon all the other Members together, to come in and yield their assistance to prevent the mischief feared, or prepare for the reception of the good promised, or pretended, as the nature of the case may require. Thus are all orders wont to be dispatched and issued from the Cinque-ports of the senses in, and about the head, for the benefit and advantage of the whole body. Very fitly therefore in the body politicke are the rulers by way of allusion called Heads. And in case of inability to discharge those functions, such societies may not undeservedly be compared to the *Palmists* Idols, that have eyes but see not, and have ears but hear not. Suppose the hands be never so strong for action, or the feet never so swift for motion, yet if there be not discretion in the head to discern, or judgement to determine what is meet to be done for the obviating of evil and danger, or procuring of good, it will be impossible to save such a body from ruine and destruction. If the Mast be never so well strengthened, and the Tackline never so well bound together, yet if there wants a skilful Pilot to Steer and Guide, especially in a rough and tempestuous Sea, the same will soon take the prey, as it hapned a little before this time, in the Reign of Saul, when the Philistines had so often harressed that Country, and placed their Garisons in the very heart of the Land, and not long after, when in the days of Rehoboam, who had shields enough, some of Gold, with other weapons of War, many thousand stalls of Horses, with Horsemen proportionable to manage them, yet for want of wisdom and understanding in the head of that rich and populous Kingdome, how soon is it become a prey to the first assylant, as afterwards also in the dayes of *Joash*, when there was but a small company of the Syrians that came against him, a great Host was delivered into their hand, and all through that ill conduct of the Head of that Kingdome.

But by the way, here we are to mark, according to the sence of the words already given; under the wisdom of conduct, or understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do, is necessarily comprehended piety before

before God, as well as prudence amongst men, according to the received rule of Scripture Language and Phrase, where as Divines use to say, *verba sensus denotant affectum cordis*: therefore understanding to know Israels duty, requires a great deal of divine skill and spiritual wisdom attained by Faith in Gods promises, diligent reading of the precepts of his Law, fervent and frequent prayer for divine assistance, by which means David became wiser then his Teachers, yea, was accounted wise as the Angel of God to discern good and bad, and to know all things that were in the earth. It was by a special Law required of God that the King in Israel should have a copy of the divine Law, written out (by his own hand, say some of the Rabbines) and kept by him, that he might read therein all the dayes of his life, *Deut. 17. 19. 20.* that from thence he might receive direction how to govern his Kingdome, so that according to the excellent pattern before us in the Text, it is requisite that the Heads and leaders of Israel, should be versed in Divine, as well as in humane Law. Therefore we find, that when *Solomon*, after he was advanced to be the chief Head and Leader of Israel, when he had his Opinion granted him of God, could not ask any thing so well-pleasing to God, and so needful to himself, as wisdom, or an understanding heart to judge the Israel of God, and to discern between good and bad. As hereinafter *David* his Father before him approved himself, as a meet Shepherd over the flock of God, in feeding of them according to the integrity of his heart, and guiding them by the skilfulness of his hands, *Psal. 78. ult.* That is he guided them by his counsel, and preserved them by his power, in which two branches is contained the sum of a Rulers office. And though in many cases the rule is very plain and easie, and he that runs, as is said, may read what Israel ought to do; yet things may be oft times so circumstanced in Israel, that it is no easie matter to know what Israel ought to do: many times the right way lieth in a very narrow; the Channel may run between two dangerous precipices on either side, so that a man who hath not great understanding, *Incidit in syllam volens vitare charybdim.* A Ruler may oft times run into one or more evils, and it may be great ones too, that intended only to avoid some lesser one, yea sometimes he that resolves to keep the middle of the Channel, yet for want of insight and experience, nor making allowance for emergent cases & difficulties, not easie to be foreseen, may by the setting of the Current be shipwrecked on the opposite Shoar: (*Si tempora, & verum status ita circumvolvuntur, ut administrandi ratio, cum illis consentiens, sit bona, feliciter omnia contingent; at si tempora et res ipsa mutantur, peribit, qui in agendo rationem non mutat.* As said that great Italian Polititian) A fitter Instance of which dangerous error cannot be given, then that of *Josiah*; who yet was one of the best Rulers that ever headed the Kingdome of Judah, for he, to prevent a lesser inconvenience of having his own Kingdome

dome (that lay between the two great Kings of Assyria and Egypt) made the seat and field of War, denies liberty to the Egyptian to pass through his Kingdome, and so opposing him in an hostile way, is overcome and slain, and his Kingdome spoiled by him : it proving the most fatal Battel that ever was fought by any of the Kings of Judah, and which made way to the final overthrow of the Kingdome, and following Captivity of the People. So great mischiefs of times do attend the want of understanding to know what Israel ought to do. Rehoboam also and his people did both strangely ruine themselves by a contrary extream in this kind, in not understanding of the times to know what they ought to do, to avoid the danger which either of them feared. The King was afraid of being mated by his Subjects, puts on a garb of greater Majesty then was usual in his countenance and words, at that time, when a condescending carriage, with more mildness and gentleness had been more necessary, and in all probability, had saved both his Honour and his Kingdome : on the other side, the people acted by the same fatal and precipitant counsels of rash and unadvised persons, to avoid the heavy yoke of the house of David, as they conceived, advanced one of the Servants of their former Kings, whose little finger proved indeed (as the other proudly speaks) heavier then the loyns of the two former Kings; for the Kingdome was not able to stand long under the weight thereof, but was soon crushed and ruined by the tyranny of the succeeding Kings of the ten Tribes. The consideration of such dangerous consequences, might obviate the heady and tumultuous humors of many, who upon the least discontent against their Rulers, for want of success, or the like, think of nothing less then of removing them out of the World, or out of the Government at least, and substituting others in their room, which if they should accomplish, possibly might intangle them in the like, or a worse mischief then that which they expected to be delivered from, as many have found by sad experience. Or doth the remedy prove worse then the disease. *Infelicitèr aggrat eis plurius mali venit a medico, quàm a morbo.* As good to have no King in Israel as to anoint a Bramble over the rest of the Trees. In the present exigent before us in the Text ; the case appeared difficult a good while. There was Abner the Captain of the Host of Israel, with the Son and Heir of the former King, engaged on the one side ; David and a few of his Servants and followers on the other ; yet to those that had understanding of those times, it doth at the last manifestly appear what Israel ought to do. Saul had outed himself of the Kingdome, by asking counsel of the Devil how to continue it in his family, who were therefore justly rejected of God ; David was by a special mandate from God chosen to be King in his stead, which Abner and the Captains of the Host can readily acknowledge, when prejudice and self-interest is laid aside and Conscience but permitted to speak. The Kingdome belonged

unto

unto David, not only in regard of ability and fitness, but also in point of right and title, as being the person designed of God for them to choose; yet is it something long before the people are willing to understand it. Though wisdom be alwayes too high for a fool, as Solomon speaks, yet in the darkest times that ever befel the Israel of God, they that will do the will of God may by inquiry, study and prayer come to know what it is. However it doth hereby appear of how great concernment it is, for the Heads in Israel to know what Israel ought to do, least otherwise they be drawn to do, that which in Israel ought not to be done. Gideon was a wise man, that judged Israel with great approbation of God and man, yet out of a superstitious conceit, will needs make an Ephod, which thing ought not to have been done in Israel, what followed? All Israel went a whoring after it, and so it became a snare to himself in his family, and to Israel also.

The body of a people are not much unlike the body of waters, which are not apt to move of themselves, if let alone in their own receptacle, but as they receive an impression from a forreign Element, or a power that is above them: and things that are soft and flexible are susceptible of divers, yea contrary impressions. David by an insinuating and melting speech bowed the hearts of all the men of Israel as one man. They that have such interest in them, had need know what they ought to do, seeing they may make them do almost what pleaseth themselves that are their Rulers: for Absalom had bowed them as well as David, though it were the wrong way. All mens hearts are not in their own keeping; wise men can easily find keys that will open the Cabinet and take away the Treasure; for tis said, Absalom stole away the hearts of the men of Israel. Thus in things of the greatest moment, it is easie for Princes, and Leaders, and Heads of the Tribes to draw them that are their bones and their flesh, as David speaks to be of their mind and to engage in their quarrel, be it right or wrong. Many Instances of the like kind may be given out of prophane as well as Sacred History, for the sea of examples of this nature is without bottome, whereby it will be found most evident, that those who are the Heads and Leaders of any people may easily engage them in their own quarrels to their ruine and destruction, as often as otherwise.

Thus did Jeroboam, Ahab, Jehu and others perswade the people of Israel, after their own example, to embrace the abominable idolatry of the Calves which brought inevitable and fatal ruine upon the whole Kingdome of the ten Tribes, as well as upon their owne families. Cato was wont to say of the people of Rome, (and it is as true of any other sort of people) that they were like sheep, in that it was easier to drive or lead a whole flock or multitude of them, then any one single creature amongst them. By all which Considerations it is manifest that things are no where like, so successfully to be

be carryed on as where they who are concerned in the leading of Church or State, have such understanding of the times, as to know what Israel ought to doe.

3. The third thing considerable in this unparalleled pattern of civill polity is the *unity of their Counsels*. That which in this juncture of affairs before us in the text, was apprehended as most meet for Israel to doe, is by the joynt advice and counsel of the heads of this tribe propounded, and by the whole body of the people consented unto and approved, such a rare pattern of unity is seldome found in our times. Let a body politicke be never so well proportioned, as to its constitution, and form of government, & never so well furnished with wise and able men for its conduct and guidance, yet if the severall members be not well tuned together, by a spirit of love and unity, there will never be any good harmony in their Administrations. Where the whole multitude is not of one heart, and of one mind, as was said of them in the *Acts. Chap. 4. 32.* there will appear little beauty or strength, and no success in any of their motions. In the beautiful Systeme of the world, which yet is compounded of sundry Elements, and those of differing qualities one from the other, yet is there such a necessary and mutual connection between the parts, that they are all so firmly knit one to another, that it is altogether impossible to make any breach in their union: rather will those severall bodies forget the properties of their own nature, then there shall be any *Chasma* or *Vacuum* amongst them, which would tend to a dissolution of the whole. Thus in the body politicke, where it is animated with one entire spirit of love and unity, and settled upon lasting and sure foundations of quietness and peace, all the severall members, must and will conspire together to deny, or forbear the exercise of their own proper inclinations, to preserve the union of the whole, that there be no Schisme in the body, as the Apostle speaks: Therefore where the higher bodies in Church or State, cannot descend (and that of their own voluntary inclination without forcible compulsion) and the lower and grosser ones cannot ascend up to meet the other, any man may easily read the destiny of such a society. It had been much better for Rehoboam to have denyed himself, and become the servant of his people, and subjects for that one day, rather then to have made them his enemies, if not his lords (for they were the greater Kingdome) for ever after. David was forced to yield to as much as that came to, if not something more, when he complains, the sons of Zeruiah are too hard for him, rather then to make a breach between himself & his men of warr, in that difficult time, when himself was yet weak, and the Kingdome not firmly or fully settled in his hand. David was wise as an Angel of God, to know what he had to doe, and doth not connive at their sin, although he doth for that time forbear to execute the punishment, leaving things

things to a more convenient season. Jerusalem, sayes the Psalmist, is builded as a city that is compact together : when the parts of a building are so artificially framed one into another, that they are as it were cemented, and knit together by a vital spirit of love, the more weight is laid upon them, the firmer and stronger they grow : but where they are disjoynted, one part helps to weaken, and overthrow the other. Cyrus is said to have overthrowen the impregnable city of Babylon, by drawing the great channel of Euphrates, into several small rivulets, which, had they continued in one main stream, he could never have done. It is not the storms and tempests, though never so boisterous, while they are on the outside, or upon the surface of the earth, that make any commotion therein, but the vapors that are insensibly gotten into its bowels, that make it quake and tremble. It is not the outward force and violence that ruins a commonwealth, so much as a spirit of division, and contention arising from jealousies, prejudices, & animosities from within themselves, which doth most dangerously threaten, and most certainly foretell its destruction, as our Saviour himself speaks, an *An house or Kingdome divided against it self cannot stand*. The swift ships that are driven by the fierce winds, or carryed with the raging waves of the sea, yet so long as they who sit at their helmes are united, in their counsels and endeavours, most commonly do avoid the danger of ship-wrack, being turned this or that way, upon occasion, at the will of the governour, but if they who are to manage them cannot agree amongst themselves, they may easily be emersed, and whole navies of them become but *ludibrium Ventorum*. Unity of Counsell is one of the chief foundations of civill Policy: But if the foundations be dissolved, what can the righteous doe? but mourn in secret, when they foresee, but cannot prevent the miseries that are coming upon a factious, divided and self-dstroying people. It was a sad time in Israel, when one half of the people followed Shibui the son of Ginnath, the other half followed Oni, whence might necessarily be inferred the destruction of one side or of the other, as soon after came to pass in that people. Or else may endanger the ruine of the whole, as too often hath been seen in the world, that when lesser societies have been divided amongst themselves, they have but the sooner become a prey to a stronger power. Which if it had not been experienced in most of the states, and societies of the Christian world, and in all the latter, as well as ancient revolutions of the nations; where any order of Government, either civill or ecclesiastical hath been established, might have been exemplified by particular instances. *Felix quem faciunt* &c. happy are they that can take warning by the harms they have observed in preceding times. Such divisions, especially in the Church of God, are in a great measure to be ascribed to the policy of Satan, who endeavours by all wayes and meanes to foment divisions, amongst those of the

Church, by that course to ruine them, while in the mean time, he provides for the quiet of his own Kingdome, the world. God also may be said to do it, being provoked by the pride and tyranny, with other wickedness of the sons of men, judicially to mingle a perverse spirit in the midst of a nation, & suffering their princes to be deceived, and to deceive their people, as the prophet speaks of Egypt. Isa. 19. 13, 14. Causing them to erre in every work thereof as a drunken man staggereth in his vomit. But the meritorious and procuring cause of those ruinous and destructive counsells arises from the weakness or wickedness of a people themselves: It being observed as one of the blessings God was pleased to cast in to some heathen states, as a reward of their wisdom and prudence, with other moral virtues, viz. their long peace, and flourishing prosperity upon the earth. It is much to consider, that all Asia can agree together in the worship of a Diana, and the Image that fell down from Jupiter, while one single Church in the city of Corinth cannot long hold together in the worship of the true God, nor retain the rites of his worship, and the regular use of the sacred bodies of love and unity, without such shamefull divisions, and scandalous breaches, as they are sharply rebuked for by the Apostle, in both his Epistles to that Church, imputing the root of those divisions to the lusts of the flesh, *Are ye not carnal, and walk as men?* 1 Cor. 3. 3.

But this being a matter of so great concernment for the good and welfare of Societies whether Christian or civil, it may not be amiss to enquire into the true grounds and reasons of such Unity, or the way how it may be brought about. The first and principal is, a clear discovery of the right way of their peace and prosperity, it being taken for granted, that this is, or ought to be the end that all Societies generally aime at, *sc.* a quiet possession of what they already have, with enlargement of their property, if attainable, But if there be no agreement in the meanes that seem most directly to tend to that end, but that apprehensions are divided about that, they may be as much divided for ever: For at this time, and a little before, the Israelites were taken with a fond desire of a Kingly Government, yet not being at an agreement amongst themselves about the person, or the manner of his Government, they were divided into factions till their minds by sad experience came to be convinced, that David was the person, not only called, but qualified of God for that great service. which Amasa expresses in the name of the rest of the Tribes, *Thine are we David*, and on thy side thou son of Jesse, so that nothing can be supposed more directly to tend to the creating and maintaining unity in the counsells and affections of a people, then clear convincing light, and a demonstrative evidence, that what is propounded, is the direct and proper meanes to bring about the end generally aymed at, otherwise, it will be said *Scipitaur incertum studia in contraria vulgum*
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The poor man by his wisdom, saith Solomon, delivered the city. And the wife woman of Abel saved the city by propounding so meet an expedient, against acceptance in all apprehensions. Otherwise it may fall out as Solomon saith, *Ec. 10. 15. the labour of the foolish wearyeth every one of them, for they know not how to find the way to the city.* Where wisdom is wanting to direct mens actions, labour will be endless, & the issue in schief, or disappointment at the best. When once the people of Rome were ready to mutiny upon a quarrel that fell out between the Citizens of the higher, and those of the lower ranke, Menippus healed the breach by a wise *Apologus* of the contention between the belly, and the members in the body natural, which carryed such a convincing evidence along with it, that all parties at variance were soon agreed about the way of their own welfare. The like wise *medium* was propounded by Jotham, in the ninth of Judges, but it could not be attended, because God had sent an evill spirit amongst them, as the text there speaks.

2. The mutual interest that the members of the same Society have in the afflictions of each other, gives great advantage to promote this Unity, if duly considered. There was no small argument in the words of Abram used to Lot, *Let not us fall out for we are Brethren.* Nature leaves a strange instinct upon those of the same kind, even amongst the bruite creatures to defend one another, and to revenge the injury done to their owne kind: such inclinations use to work more strongly with those that are endued with reason. The joynt interest of people in the same family, nation or religion, tends much this way: Job could not have used a more pathetical argument to his brother Abshai, then the mention of *[our people, and the cities of our God]* whereby to engage him to a unanimous combat with the common enemy, as also the promise of mutual assistance each to other, and no doubt the preceding exhortation to magnanimity, took the firmer hold on either of their hearts. to consider their neer relation each to other. David engages much on this account, *For my Brethren and Companions sake, I will now lay peace be within thee,* Psal. 122. 8. On the other hand, when the minds of persons are either leavened with pride, or discontented, or their spirits embittered with jealousies or prejudices against each other, it cannot but much hinder this desired Unity. When the envy of Ephraim, and the vexing of Judah shall cease one toward another *Isa 11. 13.* they may the more easily subdue all other of their enemies.

3. This comes to pass by the prudent and condescending behaviour of those that are leaders of others, who by their discreet behaviour may doe much to maintain Love and unity in Societies, for want of which oft times it is miserably lost. *The soft answer pacifieth wrath, and the soft tongue breaketh the bone,* saith Solomon. Gideon by a mild and gentle answer prevented a quarrel betwixt him and the Ephraemites, which afterwards upon the like

occasion brake forth into a bloody warr, in the dayes of Jephah. David bowed the hearts of all the men of Israel as one man, by an insinuating speech as by his discreet behaviour in former times he won the hearts of all Sauls servants, notwithstanding that inveterate prejudice, envy and malice of their master against him. *Duro con duro non fat bon muro*, say the Italians; *a firm wall will not be made up of hard stones*, without the mixture of some more yielding matter to cement them together. That may easily be drawn by love, that will not be driven by a mighty force. The rigor of a Command may be much sweetned by the gentleness of the expression. Paul, though now the aged, will rather for loves sake beseech, or intreat a favour of Philemon, then enjoin a duty. Moses his calling the Israelites Rebels, was more like to increase the Rebellion of their wills against God, then any way alter that evill disposition of their minds. Joabs percompory adjuring of David, although in that exigent, it gained the present end he aimed at, yet it for ever after lost his interest in his Sovereigns heart, the harshness of the words being harder to be digested then the matter contained in them. Many times also the difficulty of a message is much sweetned by the courteous disposition of them that bring it, as the third messenger sent by the king of Israel to Elijah, seems to find by experience. Rehoboams yoke had not seemed so intollerable, if it had with more gentle words been imposed; wherefore following kings chuse rather to express their non-assent to the demands of their subjects by an *Advisable Roy*, then by an harsh and absolute refusal. When Themistocles once told the Adriens, to whom he was sent to demand tribute, that he would bring two mighty Gods to overcome them, Love and Eloquence, it was replied to him, that they had two mightier then they, *sc* Poverty and impossibility, or else very probably the other might easily have prevailed. This way of procuring unity and peace is as much seen in matters of Religion, as in things of another nature, where as a late Author truly saith, by passionate, hot and eager Disputes peace is alwayes lost, and truth is seldome or never found.

4. In the fourth and last place, This is brought about by the influence and assistance of Divine Grace, so disposing the wills and affections of men that unity and peace are thereby both procured and preserved. For if God be provoked to send an evil Spirit, as he did bewixt the men of Shechem, and the house of Millo, the wisest Counsels shall not prevail, as at that time was delivered them by Jotham a very sage *Apologue*, yet it could not prevent that wicked conspiracy between the men of Shechem, and Abimelech, for God had purposed by that means to punish them both, so that a mutual fire is kindled, whereby the men of Shechem & the house of Millo are devoured one by another: when a mans ways please the Lord, his very Enemies shall be at peace with him, much more easie it is to expect that such may obtain peace one with another

another, when God is stiled the God of love and peace, it is therein implied not only that he is the approver of those Blessings, but the Author and Giver of them. It was prophesied of Solomons Reign, that there should be an abundance of Peace, and so it was fulfilled, till God stirred him up Adversaries, which put an end to his peace: So as if God will give a Commission to any Instruments, to take away peace from this or that part of the Earth, it may not be expected, to continue longer there; for he will either mingle a perverse spirit amongst their Counsellors, as was threatned to Egypt, or hide the Counsels of peace from the eyes of the People, or their Leaders, whence they may be dashed together to their mutual destruction and ruine.

4. The fourth and last thing considerable in this exact pattern of a civil state, is the height of their courage and resolution. It is a sign of great prosperity and success in any enterprises, when the Brethren are valiant and resolute in the execution, as their Leaders are wise in their conduct. That obedience to the commands of their Superiours, is intended in a great measure, in the Text, I deny not, but what might be required here of that nature, may be gathered from what was said under the Head of order, treated of in the first place. In this place therefore I shall confine my self, only to that of their courage and resolution, which though in the last place to be spoken to, yet is not the least thing considerable in a flourishing state: for otherwise through the cowardize and slothfulness of a people with other vices attending thereon, after ages may easily lose all their riches, wealth and honour, which the wisdom and valour of the preceding have obtained: as may be seen in the dayes of the Judges that succeeded Joshua, and of the Kings that succeeded David and Solomon. Hyram concludes the prosperity of Israel from the wisdom of David, and Solomon his successor; to be sure, when wise Leaders are attended with valiant people, it is easie to foretell the prosperity of such a nation. The very name of David and his mighty men that were with him, though weary and weak-handed (as Achitophel wisely suggested) was enough to fright Absalom and all the men of Israel from pursuing their advantage: I shall here therefore take occasion to discourse somewhat of that eminent virtue, so necessary for the flourishing of a people, disposed into a well ordered polity. Valour is an inward virtue of the minde enabling us to persist in our duty notwithstanding the difficulty or danger thereof. They are not a little mistaken, that think nothing is required to valour, but a daring confidence to fight. *ut non parva martyrem, sic nec pugna fortem, sed causa facit.* It is a lawful striving as the Apostle tells us, that deserves the Garland, we must know therefore, that there are four ingredients necessary to the constitution of a valiant minde.

1. The first is magnanimity, or greatness of mind, when the Spirit is raised to such a degree of courage, as not to stoop to low, and mean things,

though it should be to compass some seeming great advantage. It was the commendation of the worthies of God, that they accepted not of deliverance, *sc.* upon low and base terms, which may be imposed by Adversaries. Paul will rather dy then make his glorying void: a valiant mind will rather lay down his life then keep it upon dishonourable terms. If the men of J. besh-Gilead, or Ahab afterwards, had accepted of their lives or peace, upon the ignominious terms offered by the supposed Conquerer, it had been a thing unworthy of the Israel of God. Nor will Nehemiah lose his honour, as he was Governour, by fleeing to save his life in an hiding place of security. So neither doth Christian humility require a man to stoop to any thing, unbecoming his Faith and Profession. Paul that can yield to any thing for the honour of God, and good of others, yet will yield to nothing, nor give place for an house to them that will lay a snare for their liberty. And in another case of a civil nature, the same Apostle, although no Souldier, but of Christ Jesus, stands upon his honour, and the priviledge of his freedome, when he is not fairly treated according to the dignity of a Roman. Is it lawful to scourge a Roman? such was Pauls humility as an Apostle of Jesus Christ, that he can be content to receive forty stripes of his own Nation, yet with so much magnanimity that he will not yield to receive one of an Heathen, where he hath a civil right to plead an exemption. Such magnanimity becomes the Israel of God, as was said of Gideons Brethren, that each one should resemble the Children of a King. If it be said, that in such a case a man can do no other good, then to shew his will; it may be said, *in magni voluisse sat est*, in matters of great moment, it is enough if a man shews but the resolution of his mind.

2. A second ingredient, is Confidence or boldness, not to be afraid of the danger or evil supposed, though it should be death it self. It seemed Joab and Abner were followed with valiant men, when they can so readily lay down their lives, at the command of their Captains. The Righteous are bold as a Lyon, saith Solomon, not afraid of danger, though never so great, either felt or feared. David will not be afraid though an Host should encamp against him, Psal. 27. 3. Fear is an embondaging affection but the true Israel of God are called unto liberty; therefore it becomes not them through the fear of death to be subject unto bondage: it was a notable spirit of valour that discovered it self in that English Captain, under his King in France, who being sent to discover the Enemies Camp, and his numbers, was no whit discouraged (by the great disproportion that might be observed betwixt themselves and the enemy) but returned this answer, That there was a very great many of them, enough to kill, enough to take Prisoners, and enough to run away besides, all which came to pass soon after, according to his confident presage. There hath been an extraordinary spirit

spirit of Courage, that some of Gods people have been endued withal, when Gods Spirit was said to come upon them, as upon Sampson, *Judg.* 14. 15. when he met a Lyon, and *Judg.* 15. 14. 8. when he smote the Philistines hip and thigh; and David, when he engaged with Goliath, or Jonathan and his Armor-bearer engaging against the Philistines, and undertaking a whole Garrison of them at once. Thus when the Spirit of God doth in any eminent manner excite and stir up, or actuate that innate valour of their minds, they are and will be enabled to do great things. Many a mans courage would serve him to fight very valiantly were he but assured to come off with victory or success, at least without loss of life: but true valour argues such a confidence of mind, as enables a man to look Death in the face in cold blood, as we use to say, and not to be daunted with the countenance of that King of Terrour. As was seen in Joab, *2 Sam.* 10. 12. who is resolved to behave himself valiantly, leaving the issue and success to God, to do what should seem good in his sight. Why should not every true Israelite having the same cause, the same spirit of Faith, the same promises, have experience of the same courage and confidence of minde in their measure.

3. In the third place, Patience is also requisite, enabling them quietly to bear with all the evils they may meet with by reason of the diurnity of the Act. If thou faint in the day of adversity, saith Solomon, *Prov.* 24. 10. thy strength is but small. It is observable, that God never brought about any great matter of moment, for the salvation of his people, but he call'd the Instruments therein to the exercise of great patience before it were accomplished; so that in their experiences, they must say, *Qui cupit optatam cursum----- Multa tulit fecitq; &c.* At Israels first coming out of Egypt, God would not carry them by the way of the Spyes, though that was nigh, (a journey of a few dayes) lest they should faint and be discouraged when they see war. And as afterward God would try Gideons Army, before he would call them forth to war; for when that Generation that came out of Egypt upon tryal, manifested such untractibleness and impatience under the hazard and difficulties of war, God saw meet to lay them wholly aside, and train up their posterity by degrees to inure and accustom them to bear the difficulties and hazards thereof. Amongst Davids small number that followed him while he was at Ziklag, one third part tis said, was so faint, that they could not go over the Brook Bezor, but they were not denied their equal proportion in the spoile, which shewd their tarrying behind proceeded not from the want of valour in their minds, but from weakness in their bodies, which are but *jumenta*, or *vehicula animorum*: so that patience under evil, is very necessary for a Soldier.

4. In the last place Perseverance, whereby we endure unto the end. This
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is a law in the civil as well as spiritual combate, that there must be holding out to the end, without which the Crown is not to be expected. It was one part of the *Sacramentum militare*, by which the Roman Souldiers were wont to be litted of old, not only that they should not be unwilling to dye for the Common-wealth, and engage to do whatever their Emperour should command, but that they should never forsake the Camp while there was need of their service. And to this principle was all their success in their Wars to be ascribed: that they were unwearied therein, of whom it was truly said, that though they were *sapius in praelio, nunquam in bello victi*; though they lost many Battels, yet their valour was so great, that they would never yield to adversity. Moses will not allow the two Tribes and an half to sit still after their own inheritance was cleared of the Enemy, till they had also helped to put their Brethren into the possession of theirs, Numb. 32. 6. And in the 78 Psalm, the Psalmist complains of the Children of Ephraim, that they turned back in the day of Battel, like a broken Bow. A true spirit of valour will alwayes stand bent to the same mark, not deceiving those that trust thereunto. The courage of Davids mind held good after his body grew faint and weak, whereby we see that perseverance is the property of a valiant minde, as well as confidence or patience.

Application. These four Considerations premised, offer a seasonable word of Advice to every one that is come hither this day. As John the Baptist was furnished from that measure of heavenly wisdom he was endued with, to give a satisfiing answer to several that came to him with this question, *What shall we do?* Luke. 3. ver. 10, 12, 14. So may any wise Scribe instructed to the Kingdome of God, from this text be supplied to give an answer to every person here present, and met together upon this solemn occasion, that shall enquire, what they shall doe, in reference to the bairness before us: I presume there is none here present, but will be found in one of these three capacities, either of an Elector, or one elected, or a Subject under the charge of those who are like to be continued in, or chosen to the office of an Head or Ruler in this our tribe. each one may from the premises, hear something spoken unto him in the language of that Capacity wherein he stands before the Lord this day.

For order sake, I shall in the first place address my self to speak unto you that are met here as Electors. There was joy in Israel when the Tribes were now met together to establish the Kingdome in the hands of David, as is said in the last verse of this Chapter. By proportion this day was wont to be a joyfull day unto us, being as it were the solemnizing of the Birth-day of our little State, the renewall of our Government, with all our civill priviledges. The Advice I shall present you with at this time is by way of Caution in the words of the Apostle, Gal. 5. 13. You are now called to the exercise of

of your civill Liberty (wherein much of your other libertyes are bound up) Use not your liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love to serve one another. Those that doe but seriously consider, how much the honour of God, as well as their own good and welfare is concerned in the regular, and conscientious proceeding in this business of Election, cannot but have a solemn awe upon their hearts in this work, and judge that the putting a Solemnity upon the grandeur of the day, is the least part of the service thereof. I might here minde you, that although it uses to be accounted one of the highest civill priviledges a people can enjoy, to have the liberty to choose their owne Rulers, and not to be imposed upon in that kinde, yet if this matter be not carefully lookt unto, so as to be both prudently and conscientiously carryed on, it may become an occasion of the greatest bondage, as hath been too sadly verified almost in all the elective states and kingdoms in the world. The fatal instance of Absalom makes it appear, how easie a matter it is to court a well meaning people into such a false conceit of liberty, as may end in the ruine both of Electors and Elected. As was seen in the person forementioned, as in Abimelech and his Tribe long before. For they were upon the Election of a King. Certainly if they were accounted cursed deceivers, that having a male in their flock, shall now and offer to the Lord a corrupt thing, *Mal. 1. 14.* what may we think of them that being called invelt some of their Brethren with the supream power of Rule & Government, (an act of the highest service for the glory of God & good of men) shall be so far swayed with faction or prejudice, or byassed with self interest, or other corrupt ends, as to choose persons to such a service, as are neither approved of God, nor acceptable to wise men; or in their choice to overlook & lay aside those that are, I mean not to attend the directions given by God himself, *Exod. 18. 27.* *Able men fearing God*. Yea it is expressly commanded them, *Deut. 17. 15.* *Thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee whom the Lord thy God shall chuse*; whom is God said to chuse, but those whom he hath not only called but fitted for such office by the gifts of wisdom and grace, which were wont to be signified by the holy oyle used to be powred on them. God doth in these dayes mediately seem to point at such to rule as he was wont of old immediately to call forth to such service. What ever strange concurrence might be observed in the person of Saul, between the rashness of the people to inforcing Samuel to the present choyce of a king, and the rashness of the king in most of his enterprises (which proved a bad Omen from his first anoynting) whereby at last he ruined himself, and many of his people) yet was he furnished with extraordinary gifts, as soon as he was called to the exercise of his government. It may still be expcted in a true sence, that a divine Sentence should be in the mouth of the King, and Ruler in Israel.

I will not here ingage in any dispute whether it be either necessary, or convenient for a freepeople to use their liberty in oft changing their Magistrates or chief Rulers. Concerning inferiour Officers, such as are Fiscalls & Treasurers, whose places (by reason of the profit they usually are attended with) are more liable to temptation & corruption, there is no matter of danger in their change. Wise Hannibal, while he was Pretor at Carthage, got an Act from the Senate for the changing of such great Officers every year, having observed how ready they were all to hold together to the obstruction of justice, and oppression of the people. But for the supream Rulers, of whom one sayes well, that *quasi cor Reipublice, quod mutare non expedit*, i. e. that being as the heart and vitals of the Common-wealth, it is not expedient to run an hazzard in often changing of them. Another speaks to the same purpose, That unless a Countrey be very full of skilfull and expert men, by often changing their Rulers, the Government will fall into the hands of rude and ignorant Mechanicks. But where the wisdom of any Countrey hath by long experience, seen cause to continue the same Rulers, they had need be well advised, that should promote any innovation, especially in any difficult Juncture of affairs: It cannot but be dangerous to put the helm into the hands of an unexperienced Pilot in a tempestuous or stormy season. In such cases it is most an end found true, as the Spaniards say, the evil that is present, is better then the good that is to come, for so many times a small inconvenience and infirmity, is charged into an unsufferable evil. The people of Israel, no doubt would soon have found the little finger of Abolons vices, heavier then the loynes of all Davids infirmities. It was good Counsell which a wise man of Capua once gave his fellow Citizens, that before they cut off the old Senarors, they should find new ones that were better to place in their room, which when upon tryal they were not able to doe, they were easily perswaded to continue the former in place. Let wisdom and knowledge be found in our Electors, as well as in our elected Rulers, and that will be the stability of our times, and the strength of Salvation. Our Election is the foundation of our Government. A small and inconsiderable error in the Foundation, may put the whole Building much out of order. As in the body natural, a defect in the first conception is seldome helped by the second, so will it be found in the body polick. And in all ages, such as are the Rulers, such will be the people both in Church and State. Therefore how doth it concern those that have an opportunity in their hands, not only to keep it, but to improve it and manage it aright, for the upholding and maintaining good order and discipline, both in Church and State; For if I mistake not, any man may make both a true prognostick, & diagnostick of the athletick State of your people, through the whole order of your Government, both ecclesiastical and civil, by your Elections, and the quality

quality of the persons you chuse into places of trust, be they Superiours or Inferiours; in things sacred as well as civil.

I am bold to speak the more on this hand, that I might imprint upon all your minds, that are any way concerned in Election, a conscientious care of your duty, and faithfull discharge of the trust committed to you. It was one of the last requests that Moises made unto the God of the spirits of all flesh, just as he was ready to resign up his charge, that a man might be set over the Congregation, which might both goe in and out before them, that the Congregation of the Lord be not as sheep that have no sheheard, *Num. 17. 16. 17.* Lest they should there by be left to wander every one after his owne imagination, and so degenerate into corrupt and foolish wayes to their owne destruction. I am not ignorant that the lot of this dayes Election is in a great part cast into the lap, the disposal thereof from the Lord we expect to know by and by: but I speak for the future, and in way of caution to take heed to our Elections, for our (All) depends upon it. It was a sad preface of evill times approaching upon Jerusalem, when the people were driven to such miserable shifts, as to shrowd themselves under the skirts of unmeet persons, only for the sake of meat and cloathing. *Isa. 3. 6. 7.* for they are the things left requisite in him who is said to be an Healer, *A poor and wise child, is better then an old and foolish King,* such Solomon, *Ecclesi. 4. 12.* And for a man to be put into the Priests office, not qualified thereunto, only to eat a morsel of bread, may prove a curse to the place and people, as well as to that person, as was pronounced against the Family of Eli, *1. Sam. 2. 36.*

If any should here expect that a character should here be given, how to judge of such men as may be accounted meet to be heads or leaders of Israel, the text is a full description, such as have understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to doe, and they who are such doe discover themselves, or may be distinguished from others by these qualifications.

1. The fear of the Lord, and the love of Righteousness. *The fear of the Lord is the beginning* or chief part of wisdom as the text tells us. He that is not wise for himself or for his owne soul, will never be wise for the common-wealth. They that are not of Israel, will not much care to know what Israel ought to doe. David that was a companion of them that fear the Lord, is easily induced to seek the good of all such, *Psal. 122. 8.* What Pato said of Philosophers, we may say of the men that fear God, (which is the best wisdom) who wished that they were the only kings, or that kings were only such. David, owned by God himself to be a man after his owne heart, was the standard by which his Successors were measured: amongst whom you will find, that to doe that which was right, was rather a diminution then otherwise, unless it could be added, with a perfect heart

heart, as did David his father. So, as to know or doe that which is right, unless it were out of integrity of their hearts, and conformity to the mind of God, doth not in Gods account denominate a man wise, or one that knows what Israel ought to do. God may make use of the common gifts of the spirit, or natural endowments of men unsanctified for the good of his people & often doth when the Government is by providence unavoidably devolved upon them; but it may be questioned, whether a people can expect a blessing under Rulers of their own voluntary choyce, whose piety may upon certain & good grounds be suspected, or denied, whatever their other qualifications may be.

2. Humane Learning in conjunction with the former. Such as by the benefit of natural parts Experience, Education, and study, have advantage above others to be acquainted with the affairs of the world abroad, as well as with the Laws and Customes of their own people at home. For seeing persons of that alloy have generally the chief managing of affairs in other Nations, as much of that as may be had, cannot but be necessary for the better ordering the affairs of Israel. It was no doubt some advantage to the officers of Hezekiah, in their treating the messengers of the Assyrian, that they understood the Syrian tongue as well as their owne. It may be presumed that no man, unless a Weigelian Sceptrick, ever did account Moses less fit to be a Leader unto Israel because he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, a man mighty in words and in deeds. Nor Paul the less fit to be an Apostle, because he spake with tongues more then all the rest of the Apostles. Yea it appears that upon that account he is called a chosen Vessel, the better qualified to be a Doctor to the Gentiles. And if Jephah had not had understanding of the times, *sc.* the knowledge of things done in forepassed times, as well as in the present, it may well be questioned whether he had been so fit to have been an head of the Gileadites as afterward he proved: if he had not been able to have disputed with arguments of reason, as well as weapons of warre, he could not have managed the quarrel so successfully as he did. The chief Leaders of Israel before he Kings, were called Judges, *a potiori parte*; though the chief part of their work usually was to be Captains of their warrs, yet they received their title from their power of Judging, which certainly required skill and knowledge of the Lawes, by which they were to judge, which how well it could be attained without help of humane learning, I doe not understand. It was well replied by an officer of State to a Nobleman, that made small account of learning in the education of his son, (aiming at no higher learning then to be able to ride an horse, or fly an hawke) that if it were so, then Noblemens Sons must be content that mean mens children should govern the Kingdom.

3. Constancy or steadiness is another property of a wise man; at least of one fit to be a Leader of others. Not but that a wise man may sometimes change

change his mind, and his wisdom may lead him so to do : Sometimes we say, *secunda cogitationes sunt meliores*, but to be of a fickle, unconstant minde, is the character of one, as Jacob said to Reuben, that will never excel : He is untable as Water, which is, neither easie to be kept in any bounds, nor ob- servant of one constant motion, but apt to change upon every occasion. In- stability in our wayes, is an argument both of want of faithfulness before men, and of sincerity before God. *Homo quadratus* is the fittest to manage a crosse : That is the figure that stands surest ; wise men that act upon prin- ciples, are like an House built upon a foundation that will not turn aside by a sudden and violent storm. Sceptical men, none knows where to have them, they will not be bound to be of the same mind on this morning, that they were of on the last night : Solomon therefore advises to fear God and the King, and not to meddle with them that are given to change, Prov. 24. 21. These are *Iniqua ingenia* of Quick-silver tempers, that are never quiet in any place, yet would alwayes be uppermost, which are observed to be the most dangerous in any state. A wise man alwayes sailes by the same Com- palls, though not alwayes by the same wind. Particular actions may be changed upon occasion, though the same mark be still aimed at.

Moderation is another property of wisdom, for if peace and truth be the best end, that all ought to aime at moderate and pacifick wayes and prin- ciples, that run not in extreame, are certainly the directest wayes that lead thereunto. Therefore it is observed that men of moderate and peaceable tempers, are both the wisest, and most useful men in all Societies, Extreame are a way's dangerous : for as the Philosopher sayes of virtue, that it lies in the middle between two vices, as the extreame are opposites on either hand, so my truth generally be found in the middle between two Errors. Some men think they can never run far enough from that they hate, whereas wise- men can see as dangerous a precipice of error before them as that which they left behind them. This is too too evident in most of the controversies which have been bandyed for, and against in our times. In most of which he that hath taken the least view of the managing of such controversies, will finde that men of rigid and severe spirits, have missed both of peace and truth, the designe of all good and wise men. Thus did the Donatists in A- frica, and the Novatians about Rome of old, who separated from all other Christians, save those of their own perswasion, till at last, there were none left either to joyne with or separate from, the spinning of thread too fine, doth but draw the wool beyond the staple, and will never hold in the weaving. Thus hath it been found in these last dayes of Reformation, the Religion of many proving like precious Liquor, too often distilled, till at last all evapo- rates into meer fume : some that could not be content to keep company with their honest minded Brethren, in the middle Region of revealed Truth,

(the most wholsome practical points of Doctrine) have soared so high aloft that they have as well lost themselves, as those they pretended conscience to depart from, whose root is rottenness, and their blossome gone up as dust, as the Prophet speaks, *Isai. 5. 24.* The Apostle Paul gives this caution to the Romans, to be wise to sobriety *Mη υπερβουτεν τας οδους* which words have an elegancy in the Greek, not easie to be express'd in our Language. *Rom. 12. 3.*

Pareus observes in his time, that they who did *nimum* *ex Celsa seclari*, did more hurt then good in the Reformation of the Church, *Marth. 23.*

It is that which highly commended the wisdom of *Basilins Magnus* in those times of controversie, in which his Lot did fall, that his moderation lead him to abtain from some expressions in the controversies then stirring (with great freedom and boldness used by others) that he might not be the envy of words and phrases, draw upon himself, and in him upon the Church of God, an inevitable, and unnecessary danger. As a great Divine of ours notes out of *Gregory Nazian.* " If the like wisdom and Moderation had been observed in those that earnestly contend for truth, so as not to load the truth they maintain with hard & severe (though it may be true) expressions, that beget more obstinacy in the Adversaries, and it may be suspicion in the weak, or unresolved looker on, differences amongst men might be more soberly composed and the truth with more assurance entertained, *Dr. R. on Psal. 110. p. 372.*

The words of the wise saith Solomon are heard in quiet, more then the cry of him that ruleth among fools, i.e. A wife man that speaks without clamour, noyse or contention gains more credit to his words by the weight of the matter, then another can do by the obtreperous noise and loud sound they are wont to be uttered withal.

The like wisdom doth moderation discover in things of a civil nature; where many times the rigorous exaction of the strict letter of the rule of Justice, proves unjust in the issue, and most unprofitable to the *Cumini seclari* himself, or his instruments. According to the usual saying, *summum jus est summa injuria.* The Duke of Burgundy began a quarrel with the Switzers about the toll of a load of Calve-skins, wherein he lost his life, and all his treasure.

5. Peaceableness is another property of Wisdom; which ought to be esteemed by the tendency it hath toward the obtaining the great end, that all ought to aim at, sc. the honour of God, and good of Societies, which is much more promoted by peace, then by the proceeding of force. The Woman of Abel whom the Scripture commends for her wisdom, discovered her wisdom by her peaceable Counsel. The poor wise man saved the City, by wise counsel, not by weapons of War, *Eccles. 9. 15* when a great King came

come against it, besieged it, built Bulwarks against it. There is nothing more easie then to begin a War, as nothing more difficult then to manage it aright, or bring it to a good issue: therefore is peace in a wise mans eye a rich booty. Contention saith Solomon, is like the breaking forth of water. therefore his advice is, to leave off before it be medled with, Prov. 17. 14 *Dilectio bellum inexpertis*, is a true saying, i. e. War uses to be welcome to none, but those that never made tryal thereof, as I fear New England may find by woful experience, which will leave a reflecton of the deeper guilt, if any have had any needless hand in the inviting of such an unwelcome guest into the Country. But I judge charitably of the present Auditors, and dare not censure others.

It was the spirit of David, one wise as the Angel of God, and no mean Warriour neither, I am for peace, but when I speak they are for War, Psal. 120. 7. It seemed then David used not Wars but when necessity forced him thereunto.

In matters of Religion, who is it that gains by Contention: it is the duty of every Christian to contend for the Faith once delivered to the Saints, but they ought *κατὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην* as the Apostle speaks, Eph. 4. 15. least otherwise, the loss of love is more matter of grief then the truth we suppose we have gained is matter of rejoycing, like them that angle for small fish with a golden Hook. Not that any truth of God ought upon any pretence to be undervalued, nor any precept of God be counted little, but every thing is beautiful in his season, where the utt'ring of some truth of less moment, may certainly endanger the breach of peace, which is a greater good, I know not, but it might with more acceptation have been forborn, for we know our Saviour Christ did not, nor the Apostles after him, at every season declare such Truths, as the Hearers were not capable to receive.

For all necessary and fundamental Truths, we cannot be too resolved in Contention for them: But for Opinions of less certainty and moment, where wise and good men have alwayes needed a latitude, wherein to differ and turn aside one from the other, it can be no part of wisdom to be too eager or rigorous about them, some with the Disciples, Luke 9. 54 55. are ready to think he deserves no less then to be destroyed by fire from Heaven, if he follows not them, whom yet our Saviour justly reproveth for giving too much way to their own Spirits.

6. Condescension, may in the next place be added, as another property of Wisdom. Humility, the ground of condescension is nearly allyed to wisdom, both are the procreant causes of great Blessings to the Sons of men, Prov. 12. 4. The wisdom that is from above is gentle, easie to be entreated. No man ever thought that Abraham was the less wise, because more willing to yield in the controversie between him and Lot. Those parts of the natural body that are the most yielding are the stronger and most useful.

useful, were all the other members of our body as hard, and as stiff as the Bones, how uncomfortable would our Actions and motions be. If any finde it better to break then bow, they may thereby gain some reputation for their wilfulness but not for their wisdom.

This must alwayes be understood of things lawful and expedient to be yielded to, else Moses the meekest man upon Earth, will not bate an hoof, nor Paul the most humble of all Christians, will not yield, or give place for an hour; both which in other cases could deny themselves, and yield very far.

7. Deliberation, is the last property of Wisdom which I need mention, it can hardly be thought to consist with Wisdom to do any thing rashly in matters of moment. Temerity of Counsels argues rather height of folly and pride then depth of wisdom; for in so doing, we shou'd lay aside Reason, our most faithful and best Councellour, and commit our affairs into the hands of passion and affection, or worse, *cum res transit in affectum, perit omne iudicium*: they loose their wisdom, that suffer themselves to be transported with passion. *Deliberandum diu, quod semel statuendum*, it had need be a long time deliberated upon, that is to be appointed for ever after. For although our statutes be not unalterable, like those of the Medes and Persians, yet that which is maturely agreed upon at the first, will stand in the less need of alteration or abrogation: the frequency of either of which abates much of the rigour of the Laws; and honour of the Law-makers. Many things in humane affairs admit not of second thoughts, notwithstanding they are generally known to be the best. *In bello non bis deccat*: therefore says Solomon, with good advice make War, and manage it likewise with the same care, lest there be no room to play an after game. And wise men account it the best way to put as little as may be to peradventure. A man of understanding, saith Solomon, *Prov. 12. 27.* is of an excellent Spirit; the Hebrew word is of a cool Spirit. *Sedatus animo*, slow, deliberate, composed, not hot which makes men quick and sudden in their resolves. *Theodosius* that famous Christian Emperour, noted for great wisdom also, did that on the sudden in a passion, that he had cause to repent of ever after. To be slow to wrath argues great understanding in the wise mens account, *Prov. 14. 29.* It is reported of *Heraclius* the Treasurer of the said *Theodosius*, that giving so far way to his passion, as when the Saracens, who were hired by the Emperour for the war came to demand their pay, he refused payment, and instead thereof, passionately called them Arabick Dogs, which so incensed them that they immediately set up their own Banners, which gave occasion to those infernal Locusts that came first out of the bottomless pit, to overspread the face of the Christian World, miserably tormenting the inhabitants thereof, for an hundred and fifty years, where by the way may be noted, hard words are the worst kind of pay, can be made to such as venture their lives for

for the service of the common-wealth. The same befell Rehoboam, whose hard, proud and haughty words, were answered by a shower of as hard stones, that fell heavy on the bones of his officers.

But to return, much deliberation in publick affairs, specially if the case be about matters of moment, is rarely found a disadvantage. As was said of that old Roman, Fabius Maximus. *Cunctando restituit rem*, he repaired that by deliberation, and prudent delaying of matters, which some others had almost ruined, by their precipitant and heady adventures. The like deliberation is of use in the enacting, as well as in the executing of all civill Constitutions and Decrees: Therefore wise Lawyers have been alwayes wont to account Lawes of difficult Terms, and doubtfull event, had need be deliberately thought upon, before they be enacted, or put in execution. Israels best venison was that which was longest in preparing.

2. The second branch of the Application may respect those honoured persons, who are like now, or hereafter may be called unto, or continued by this dayes Election in the place of Government, as Leaders of this our Tribe. I shall crave leave to suggest thus much unto you from the words of the text, what God doth, and man may justly expect from you, &c. That you be found such as have understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to doe. The title here given, is a sufficient intimation thereof. The rest of your Brethren here present, are but inferiour Members of that body, of which you are the Head, instruments subservient to your direction and guidance. The foot moves not, the hand is not lifted up without the order and command of the head. You are the pins on whom hangs all the glory of the house of Israel, therefore it behoves you to think of the charge that lies upon you. We look upon you in this your capacity, like the four and twenty Elders, casting their Crowns at the feet of him that sits upon the Throne, and ready to receive them only by his appointment, as intending only to honour him therewith, and not your selves. They were wont to say amongst the Senators of Rome, *viderint Consules, ne quid detrimenti capiat Respublica*, i. e. it is the care of the Consuls, (who had the executing part of the power of the People put into their hands) to see that the Common-wealth receive no detriment: I may, yea must add this further to your selves, *ne quid detrimenti capiat Ecclesia*, i. e. you are as well to see that the Church under your charge and care receive no damage or disadvantage. Consider the extent of your Commission this day to be sealed unto you, both by God and his people. Know therefore,

The concernments belonging unto you in reference to Israel, are either Ecclesiastical or Political, the latter are (*Civil*, so that as you see, *Military*, they are threefold, Sacred, Civil, and Military, I shall briefly as the manner

will allow, touch upon all three in their order.

1. The sacred, or Religious concernments of Israel are under your care and conduct. *Imperative* as they say, though not *Elicitive*. I need not take up time (it were not to spend but mispend it) in proving, that civil Rulers have to do in matters of Religion. That Text alone, *Mat. 22. 37.* were enough to prove it, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy might, &c.* Love is ready to summon in all the powers and faculties within its reach, to attend the will of him whom it loves, as its last end, it was said by the Prophet, the Merchandize of Tyre, shall be holiness to the Lord, may it not as well be said, that the Magistracy of Rome, as the Merchandize of Tyre, was to be Holiness to the Lord. The Scepter of the Man child, by virtue of his subordination to the Lord Jesus, was to rule all Nations with the Rod of iron, as tis said, *Rev. 12.* If any should say, the Lord Jesus doth not need the help of the Civil Magistrate to carry on his Kingdome, I answer, although he doth not need it (for he did carry on the work of his Kingdome when all the civil Magistrates of the world were combined against it) that will not excuse Magistrates for non-performance of their duty when ever they are impowred thereunto: To all such it may be said, as Mordecai said to Esther, who knows but thou art come to the Kingdome for such a time as this; but if any desire further satisfaction in this point, they may consult the learned discourses of all Protestant Writers upon this Subject, whether Lutheran, or Calvinist, Gerhard, Grotius, sundry Episcopal learned Divines of our own Nation, as well as those of our own place, and perswasion, treating of this Subject, specially Mr. Nye, his learned Defence of the lawfulness of the Oath of Supremacy, and power of the Civil Magistrate in Ecclesiastical Affairs, and subordination of Churches thereunto, whom I the rather chuse to instance in, because he hath extracted the quintessence and marrow of all our modern Divines, whether of the Episcopal, or other perswasions, and one also never suspected of, or condemned for, deviating, declining, or receding from former principles by himself taken up, which it may be others as innocent, are yet not altogether to free from the suspicion of: that so it may appear that all sober Divines do joyntly agree in this conclusion. Nor is this Doctrine any new upstart invention, but a Truth owned by the Doctors and Fathers of the Church, as they are called in Constantines time. That first and famous Christian Emperour, was wont to say of himself that he was *Εὐσεβὴς καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* as others were *ἡρώδης καὶ τῶν ἑθνῶν* Yea Paul himself declare it not only to be his judgement but the mind of God himself, in those direct and plain Texts of the Epistles to the Romans, Chap. 13. 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. 1 Tim. 2. 2. And Peter also in his Epistle Chap. 2. 13: But to prevent any mistake here, by speaking more particularly about the civil Magistrates Power and duty

duty concerning matters of Religion, it may be reduced to these three heads.
 1. The establishing the true Religion where it never was. 2. The maintaining and upholding of it where it is. 3. The reforming it where it is grown corrupt.

1. Concerning the first of these, It is made by learned and judicious Writers, one of the undoubted Rights of Sovereignty to determine what Religion shall be publicly professed and exercised within their Dominions. *sci.* what in their Consciences is most agreeable to the word of God, and the divine Law. What reason can be rendered why the Popish Religion is professed only in Spain, the Lutheran in some Kingdomes and Provinces of Europe, the Calvinists in others; an indulgence granted in some Kingdomes to differing professions, but that the chief Rulers, Kings or Princes of State are this or that, way affected? Why else doe wee in New-England that, profess the doctrine of Calvin, yet practise the discipline of them called Independant, or Congregational Churches, but because the authority of the Countrey is perswaded, that to be most agreeable to the mind of God.

This is not to be understood, as if it were to belong to civil Rulers to obtrude upon the Consciences of their Subjects and people, the profession of what doctrine or Religion they please, but that no perswasion in Religion can orderly become the publick profession of any people or person, without liberty first obtained from the supream Rulers of the Nation. For it is a most certain truth, as Lactantius speaks, there is nothing so voluntary as Religion, which without the wills consent is nothing. Another sayes also, he that is compelled by law to serve God in this or that way serves not God but his prince. The work of Rulers is therefore rather to keep men from doing evil then to compel them to doe good. Thus did the first Christian Emperours of old, shut up the Idol Temples, not suffering their subjects to walk on in the practise of their former abominable Idolatryes, but not compell them to embrace the Christian Faith. As did Ezekiah and Josiah before break down the Grove and other Idolls, not allowing their people publicly to commit Idolatry, and if they did compell those of their own nation to attend the Celebration of the pisseover and the like, it was because that worship was *literally* enjoyned that people, and they were to be cut off that did omit it. But under the Gospel the Worship of God is more spiritual, and requires Faith in the heart before the service of the outward man can be acceptable. Now Faith is a perswasion wrought in the heart, not ingendred by outward compulsion, as saith Gregory, *Nova et inaudita est illa predicatio, qua verboribus evigil Fidem.* But more time need not be taken up in speaking to that, which is taken for granted on all hands.

2. In the second place therefore, the same power is necessarily required to uphold & maintain the true Religion, which was at first to establish it,

that is to maintain the publick profession thereof. Creation and providence are the issues of the same Being and Power. If the true Religion had not been publickly professed without the countenance of the civil Power, it is not like to be professed longer then the same power will give allowance or Command or encouragement. Now this is or ought to be done,

1. By taking care that publick Ministers be sent forth to preach the word of truth, administer the Sacraments, and celebrate all other rites and Ordinances, that doe concern the true Religion. Thus did Jehosophar, in the 2. *Cron.* 17. 7, 8, 9. So did the antient Christian Emperours by their Laws and Edicts, with other civil Constitutions. The Church by some is compared to hangings, the Common-wealth to the walls, the Church is the fruitful Vine, the Common-wealth the prop that supports it.

2. By providing maintenance, and other suitable encouragements for such Ministers in all their administrations, according to the Apostolical practice *Act.* 6. 14. and precept *1. Cor.* 9. 3, 6, 7, 9. &c. For it will necessarily hold, that if Ministers by divine Institution may expect maintenance and encouragement, who should take care to see it done but the Rulers of Christian common-wealths. God alwayes allotted a portion for those that ministered about holy things, both before the Law, and under the Law. Abraham as a man of warre paid tithes to Melchizedek as a publick Minister of God in that place, where he obtained his victory. They will have an hard Task that will undertake to prove that Tithes in some sence are not moral, as may be seen by the learned Mountagues discourse against Selden about that Subject. But it is sufficient for our present purpose that those Texts under the New-Testament conclude it a moral duty, with many other that might be cited, to take care they be maintained,

3. By setting up and encouraging the Schools of Learning, for he that wills the end is supposed also to will the meanes. It is not meet that the Israelites should alwayes goe down to the Philistines to sharpen their weapons, which they are to use in fighting against the enemies of Gods Church, or for whetting their tooles they must use in tilling Gods field. Christian Emperours of old were wont to adorn Christian Temples with the Spoyles of the Gentiles. Julian complaines that the Christians beat the heathen Philosophers with their owne weapons, therefore did he subtilly contrive to deprive the Christians of the benefit of Schooles, & other meanes of humane Learning, thinking that to be the likelyest meanes whereby to overthrow the Christian Religion. Tis true that the defect of Learning in the Apostles was supplied by the extraordinary gifts of the Holy-Ghost, but since those gifts are ceased, because other ordinary means may be sufficient for that end. God made Manna to follow the children of Israel from heaven, till they had opportunity to sow and reap in the land of Canaan, after which time the
manna

Manna ceased. While Israel was without a teaching Priest, & without a Law, they were also without the true God, 2. Chron. 13. 2. while the Scriptures were locked up in an unknown Language, how can they be opened without the key of humane Learning, or rightly divided without the study of the Workman, as the Apostle speaks. 2. Tim. 2. 15. Of old time they had Colledges and Schools of Learning, of which Elijah and Elisha were Presidents, and Overseers. What advantage the reformed Churches have had by their Princes and States erecting Schooles of Learning in their severall Dominions, is so well known that there needs no more to be said about this Argument. What considerable benefit this place hath already reaped, and as us hoped may further receive by this one Colledge in the Countrey, founded, and hitherto carried on by the pious care and religious endeavors of our former worthy Leaders, and other liberal Benefactors, is sufficiently demonstrable to the view of the World.

4. By the calling of Synods or Councils, as need may require to discusse points of Religion in controversie, and to hear matters of differences and determine them, and be of use when ever there is want of truth or peace in the Churches. Some are ready to attribute too much to the power or use of Synods, which make others, or the other hand ascribe too little to them. For although civil Rulers are not absolutely tyed up to their determination further then they are grounded upon the word of God. As if the secular powers were alwayes bound to submit to the decrees of the Ecclesiastical Senate, as is practised in the Church of Rome, yet if orderly called, and duly managed, of what great use they have been in all ages, and still may be, the experience of all times can abundantly testifie, as the learned Craken-thorpe in his elaborate discourse about the first general Council hath fully evidenced; nor can it ever be made out, that any general Council, where all the Requisites essential to such a Council were found, have erred in their decrees about any matter of Faith, or fundamental Article thereof, as the same Author doth assert.

For although what Grotius sayes cannot be denied, that the Sovereign power is not tyed to the judgement of Physicians in the case of a wound, nor of a Geometrician in the measuring of Land, yet is he much mistaken that from thence shall inferre, that the civil power need make no use, or can receive no benefit or direction about such cases in question, before he gives his final determination in and about the same. The priests lios should preserve knowledge; and of old they were in all arduous and difficult cases to repair to the Priest, and to the Judge that should be in those dayes. Deut 17.9.12. By proportion of that Text, it is no hard matter to gather what is the use and benefit, and what the power of Synods in a christian state.

5. By preventing the spreading and growth of corrupt Doctrine and he-

retical Opinions: I confess it is not easie to hit the joynt in this controversie yet for the satisfaction of their minds, that may need or desire, I shall adventure to say something to this question, and that in this order, laying down some propositions that may by degrees lead unto a meet conclusion about Toleration or Suppression of differing Opinions: for some men will call that Religion Heresie, in which good Christians are bound to worship the God of their Fathers: Therefore all that formerly hath, or at present doth pass up and down the World under the name of Heresie, Schisme or corrupt Doctrine, is not without due ground, so to be judged and condemned. I shall not here entertain you with any sharp invective, or declaiming against a boundless toleration of all Religions, least it should be an insinuation, that some here present are inclined that way, which I believe there was never any occasion given to suspect.

1. In the first place therefore, I shall lay down this as an undoubted Proposition, that it is scarce possible to give any general rule about Toleration, that will suit with all times and places, but much must be left to the prudence and discretion, and religious care of Civill Rulers. A weak body, as some have said, ought not to suffer that out of charity to another which a stronger may, and it may as truly be said, that a stronger need not to suffer that which a weaker must, which some say, was the case of Holland, with the rest of the united Provinces, who have softened the sharpness of all differences about Religion found in other places so troublesome, by a more general freedom for the exercise of differing Religions, or differing persuasions about Christian Religion, or connivance at them, then other States judged meet, that they might thereby gain the more hands to strengthen themselves against their common Enemies.

The rule given by some others, that whatever may consist with the interest of Religion and safety of the Common-wealth, is too indefinite: For if the Civil Rulers will say that then it is not safe to allow any to dissent from the publick profession established by Law, what shall become of the weak and infirme, they must of necessity be driven to suffer ship-wrack of their Consciences, and of their lives and estates, it being impossible that all Consciences can quietly submit to the Religion of the state. Doubtless as much tenderness as may should be used out of pity to the infirmities of mens understandings, seeing in many things we sin or offend all. That golden Rule laid down by our Saviour is of excellent use if it were attended, *Alteri ne feceris, &c.* to do no otherwise to others then we would they should do to us if we were in their condition. And indeed it may seem not only unchristian, but very unreasonable, to deny that to others which our friends and our selves have, or may desire, or need from others, a special Law of Humanity toward strangers was given by God to the Children of Israel, from the consideration of

of what had been their own case in Egypt before.

2. Such Opinions in Doctrine, or professions and practises in Religion, as are attended with any foul practical evils as most Heresies have been, ought to be prohibited by publick Authority, and the broachers or fomenters of them punished by penal laws, according to the nature of the offence, like other fruits of the flesh. God never appointed a Sanctuary for Satan, nor City of Refuge for presumptuous offenders. As Joab was taken from the Horns of the Altar, whether he was fled, so let all such heretick transgressors, that fly for refuge to the Altar of their Consciences; seeing their practises and Opinions argue rather searedness, then tenderness of Conscience, and therefore such weeds justly deserve the exercise of his power to root them up that bears not the Sword in vain. The deeds of the Nicholaitans, every good Christian, be he an head or member of the Christian state, ought to halt, and endeavour the extirpation of such roots of bitterness out of the Garden of God.

3. Any Doctrine undeniably tending to the disturbance of the civil state, ought to be suppressed, and the publick profession, yet by civil Authority forbidden, and the disobedient to be proceeded against, as wholesome and meet Laws provide in such cases, for *Salus populi est suprema lex*, the safety of the people is the supreme Law our Saviour neither preached nor practised sedition, no more should any of his followers: his command was to give unto God the things that are Gods, and to render to Cesar the things that are Cesars, Mat. 22. 21. Therefore for all known incendiaries in Church or state; such as are the Jesuites, Munsterian Anabaptists, Wolves in Sheeps-cloathing, Devils in humane shape, who ever pleaded for their exemption from penal Laws, but those that are, or would, if they might be like unto them. Likewise all such as expose the religion professed by the countenance of publick Authority to vulgar contempt may justly fall under the same condemnation: concerning these as well as the former, I may say to the civil Rulers of the Country as David said to Solomon, in another case, Thou art a wise man, and knowest what thou oughtest to do unto them, 1 King. 2. 9.

4. For simple Heresie, or misbelieving any truth in Religion, though fundamental, if not seditiously or Blasphemously held forth, there seems neither rule from the word of God, nor reason from the nature of the thing, why any should undergoe capital punishment. Nor doth it appear to be the judgment of the best Protestant Writers, that they should be so proceeded against. They that desire to understand more of this Subject may peruse the Writings of the most judicious Professors of Divinity in the famous Universities of Protestant Nations, whither Lutheran or Calvinist, as may be seen in the Commonplaces & Disputations of Gerrard, Voetius, Amesius and others. The Law in *Deut.* 13. will not reach the case, which seems to respect Aposta-

Apostacy or Blasphemy rather then heresy simply considered. Yet, as on faith, men cannot be too cautelous and wary how they make others in that damnable Series seriously and solemnly professing the contrary, yea by experience it hath commonly been found that such proceedings have in the issue tended more to the advantage of error, and prejudice of truth then otherwise..

The Magdeburgenses and Osiander tell us in their centuryes, what was the success of capital punishment inflicted upon the Priscillianites, *hoc ratione heresis hac magis confirmata, quam extincta fuit.* As they speak out of Salpitiu Severus, sc. that Heresie (in it self abominable & odious enough) was rather confirmed then extinguished thereby : some have thought there hath been no better effect of the same course in following times. *ad iudicium sanguinis*, said Luther, *territus sum, etiam ubi meritum abundat*; Luther wanted no fervour against false doctrine, yet was slow to consent to sanguinary punishment, lest occasion be taken thereby in following times to slaughter the innocent sheep of Christ, as came to pass amongst the Jewes of old, and since among the Papists. Yet notwithstanding there is no doubt but the civil power may and ought to non-licenciate him that shall take upon him as a Physician to prescribe to the people poisonous Drugs instead of wholsome food or physick, although they may not punish him that shall declare that to be his opinion, unless he offend the Lawes by his irregular manner of so doing. Doubtless they that are nursing Fathers of their people, ought as well to prevent poyson as to provide bread for them : which seems to be all that was intended by the authority of the Countrey in the Laws formerly made against Hereticks. If the owner or keeper of the Vineyard shall make a thorn hedge about it, if any man by violence breaking in, shall wound or destroy himself, where will the blame be found, in them that made the hedge so sharp and strong, or in them that attempted without leave violently to break in? Those hereticks, saith Voetius, that shall deny the fundamentals of the Christian Religion, Arrians and Socinians, *Conventus eorum nec publici, nec privato-publici sunt ferendi*, if with publick safety they may be forbidden. Their religion, as he speaks being little better then refined Mehumanisme, directly tending to the destruction of souls.

It was a notable Stratagem Amphilocheius used to convince Theodosius the Emperour, of his duty in suppressing the Conventicles or meetings of the Arrians. The good Bishop refused to silence the Emperours son, newly also created Emperour, which Theodosius his father taking ill, as if he had forgotten his duty, whereupon, the said Amphilocheius returned upon him with these words, "*vide, O Imperator quam agrè ignominiam filii tui patiare, imò*" *vero illis, qui in illum insistant, vehementer succenses : credere igitur mihi velim, hujus Universitatis Rectorem Deum, eos qui contra filium suum unigenitum*
loquuntur

"*loquuntur Bſphemias, itidem detestari et tanquam ingratos erga Servatorem*
 "at *Patronum suum odio prosequi*, i.e. Thou seest O Emperour, how hardly
 "thou art able to bear the reproach done to thy son, yea thou art vehement-
 "ly offended with them that insult over him, I would have you believe that
 "that God the Ruler of this Universe doth in like manner detest them that
 "speak Bſphemies against his only begotten son, and doth hate them as
 "very ungratefull to their Saviour and Deliverer. Whereupon the Empe-
 "rour forthwith enacted a Law, that forbad any assemblies should be held by
 "the hereticks.

5. In the last place, for those Opinions which are inconsistent with the
 truth of Religion, and power of godlines, and where those that profess them
 may in charity be supposed to have in them *aliqua Dei*, as Calvin, or *aliquid*
Christi, as Rucer was wont to say, the case is far otherwise. For though I
 would not be understood to plead for a Toleration of the least evil, (for all
 error is in it self a fruit of the first sin, and part of the curse) any further than
 necessity requires there should be an allowance made for humane infirmities
 in this state of imperfection. That which is wanting sayes Solomon,
 cannot be numbered, as that which is crooked cannot be made straight.
 Yet why there may not be an indulgence, or connivance at them that in some
 things (not fundamental) may not be so far perswaded of the truth of every
 thing professed or practised in the Religion established, as to joyn with o-
 thers in all outward acts of worship, being in other respects orderly and
 peaceable, but desirous to worship God according to their owne perswasion,
 I understand not. Paul was permitted to dwell quietly in his owne hired
 house no doubt but that he worshipped God, according to the Institution
 of the Gospel. *Act. 28. 30.* For as Magistrates and civill Rulers should
 not Gallo like, let truth and error run together in a race, catch it who can;
 neither should they Gyant like strain up all under their power to their
 owne measure, or bring ng them down to their owne size, as was said of
 Procrustes, that used to to deal with his Guests. It seems not equal to force
 all others to keep our Pace. Besides, they may be thought to dispute under
 too much disadvantage, when they know all the Arguments of their adverſa-
 ries will conclude in Ferio whatsoever the *medium* may be. Or to what end
 should men be put to produce either Scripture or reason to confirm the Re-
 ligion they profess, if as Jacobus Acontius sayes out of Tertullian, they can
 expect no other Answer, then from the executioner or officer of Justice.

3. The third and last branch of the Magistrates care about Religion, is
 to reform it when it is grown corrupt, or is in tendency thereunto.

In clearing of which I need not stay long, this part of their power so un-
 deniably following upon the other two *ex natura rei*. To whom doth it
 belong more properly to repair the house, then to them that first laid the
 founda-

foundation and set it up. As the first famous Kings of Israel prepared the matter, and erected the Temple of God at Jerusalem, so the following Kings took it to be their duty to repair and put it in order again.

Solomon put out Abiathar as an unmeet person from the office of the priesthood, no reason can be rendered why the Kings and Princes of our times may not do the like if the case be the same, or if the like unworthiness be found in the persons of them that minister about holy things. Idolatry was suppressed by Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah and Josiah, and the worship of God restored to the first Institution. What hath been done by Christian Emperours and Kings in all former ages to our present dayes, is well known by the History of those times, by the Laws, Edicts and Constitutions left upon Record, enacted by their power. But still we must keep in our minds, that the power so exerted by the civil Magistrate, supreme or subordinate, is to be understood, *cumulativè* not *privativè*, so they that take it to be their duty to abolish *Catholicorum Hierarchy*, doe not in the stead thereof establish *Politico-rum Hierarchy*. Uzzah must not meddle with the exercise of the Priests office, although he may and ought to require those that enjoy such offices to perform their duty. As Paul, or the Collossians may or should exhort Archippus to fulfill the ministry he hath received in the Lord to fulfill it. The Magistrate may require, and commend it, and prevent the corruption of the Church, by removing such, and substituting others in their room, and in their stead.

2. We are in the next place to consider of the political concerns of those who are the Heads of Israel, the which are of two sorts, *Civil* or *Military*. i. e. take care it be done by them whom it concerns.

1. For the civil concerns of the Leaders in Israel, there are exigents in reference to this as well as the former, that require much prudence and skill to know what Israel ought to doe in and about the same.

There are two things principally to be attended here, 1. The moderation of the civil power to a due Temperament. 2. The faithfull improvement of it for the publick good. For the first, it is very true which a learned person observes, that power is a liquor very apt to overflow, in what vessel soever it is put, unless it be tempered with a due proportion of Wisdom and Goodness, and is apt though never so necessary in it self, to prove pernicious and destructive to them that are concerned in it. It is very observable that God give Israel Laws, Judicial as well as Ceremoniall, leaving as little as might be to the arbitrement of civil Rulers. And that hath been the continual care of prudent Law givers, to abate the height of Sovereignty by a meet Temperament of some of the inferiour Sort. Such were the Ephori at Sparta of old, the Tribunes at Rome, and the Delegates of people in most modern Kingdomes and States, as well as amongst our selves. And

it is noted by a very judicious Interpreter, that when the people of Israel would not be satisfied without a king. God ordered Samuel to write the manner of the Kingdome in a Book. 1. Sam. 10. 25. "That is the fundamental Laws of the Kingdome to temper Monarchy with a liberty befitting his owne people, and with equity toward a Nation, which of its own free will did chuse a King, and with a benignity of Government of Brethren of the same race, to withstand the abuse of an absolute power, which the peoples blind desire might have caused the new King to have run into, As Diodate speaks upon that Text

As for the improvement of this power, the titles given to such Rulers in the Text, and other places of the Scripture, as a sufficient intimation of the duty of those that are called to the exercise thereof,

As they are heads, so they ought to go before the members of the civil body by their pious and good examples, as well as by their prudent Counsels, and their just and wholesome Laws: for tis true which one hath *longum iter per precepta, breve & efficax per exempla*, examples of Rulers are always observed to take more place with their people then their precepts. Posterity will as much honour the piety of him that left a good pattern of honesty or bounty, as they will the wisdom of him that left a good body of just and useful Laws. And some Princes have inherited the title and surname of good and liberal, as well as for other perfections of wisdom or justice. This way also is more fruitful in the propagating and increasing virtues, *Autor est bonorum consequentium, qui bonum vel aequit exemplum*. As on the other hand a people are apt to be leavened and hardened in vice by the evil example of their Governours. Have any of the Rulers believed on him, as they speak in John? you know David would not yield to an unequal Distribution of the body, although thereby greater advantage might have accrued to his own person, by which self denying example, so good a custome, or standing Law in Israel had its first original. We know also how much benefit hath followed such Examples in Nehemiah and others, who have been a means to provoke others to the like acts of goodness and charity by their practices.

They are as Pillars that uphold the Foundation of the state, which in a sense may be said to be built thereon. David complains of the dissolution of the state in those times, before he was called to bear up the pillars of it, Rulers indeed if they are built like arches, that clasp in all round together, the more weight there is laid up on them, the firmer they stand, but being disunited, or not joynted in well together, they weaken the authority of each other and hasten the ruine of the whole. It was noted of Themistocles and Aristides, who alwayes had their private quarrels at home; but when they were sent abroad upon publick service, they never carried their particular contentions beyond the bounds of their own Country: a commendable pattern for others

thers to imitate. who as they are called also, Corner stones ought carefully to endeavour not only to keep up, but unite the whole building together.

They are the Watch-men set upon the Gates of Jerusalem, to descry danger afar off, which hath its truth in reference to civil Magistrates, as well as spiritual Watch-men, by the consent of the best Interpreters.

It is not safe to give false Alarms, because it may occasion true ones to be the less regarded; nor yet to give an uncertain sound, for who then can be prepared for the Battell? yet in such cases a godly jealousy should not be complained of, if a Watch-man shall cry an Enemy, when a Friend cometh, he ought more to be commended for his care, then blamed for his error, as some have said.

They are nursing Fathers to Israel, and Physicians to Gilead; it is the office of the head, not only to prevent the evil that may befall the other members of the body, but also to heal it: And therefore they must be endued with much patience to bear with the frowardness of those to whom they stand so related. Neither must they heal the wound slightly, for fear of the smart, for sometimes it will fall out that *impatiens agrotans crudelem facit medicum*.

They are Law-givers, to prescribe wholesome Lawes and Rules of Living; the Fountains of Justice, whence flow the streames that refresh and make fruitfull the heritage of Israel. Yea, *Magistratus est animata Lex*, a Ruler is a living Law. The Law, sayes one, is an heart without affect on, a mind without passion, a treasurer to keep what we have, and a steward to distribute what we ought to have. But it had need be considered that the life and virtue of Lawes lyes in their execution, therefore the making of more Lawes then need or can be executed, may weaken the authority of them that are in force, and necessary to be attended. Yea it is found by experience that lenity in the executing of Lawes, is more hurtfull then severity. The best way to keep an instrument in good tune, is to leave the strings upon a shap, they being naturally apt to fall of themselves. And mankind is continually bent to declining. And Politicians use to account violation of Lawes, not so hurtfull as non-execution. In this sence he that is slothfull in his work is brother to him that is a great Walter, *Prov. 18. 9.*

They are Lords, as well as Law-givers. Nothing more truly denoting Lordship, then a power to give Lawes. No debt is more justly due then Homage tribute to the Lords of a people, which if it were freely paid, need not be exacted; where we are required to render to God the things that are Gods, in the same clause it is added likewise, to Cesar the things that be Cesars. Yet the less of the dead fly of covetousness that is found in the oymment, the more precious will the savour thereof be found. A wise citizen of Genoa once told an Agent of the Duke of Millayn, to whom at that time they of Genoa were Subjects, that they should deal with their Tribu-

ries, as men use to doe with the herb Bazil, which being gently stroked, yields a pleasant savour, but being pressed, sends forth an unfavoury smell.

In fine, they are Gods, whose wisdom and goodness they ought to imitate as well as his power: He by his wise providence maintains a sweet harmony in the whole world, though made up of contrary Elements; all which notwithstanding peace and concord is maintained in the universe, by a wise and equal temperment of those severall qualities.

There need be no exact enquiry into the crotchets of this or that persons particular fancy, so they be ordered to keep in tune with their companions.

There is a Town in Germany called Mindn, which the History of that Country tells us, it received its name, from an agreement in that place betwixt the Emperour and some of the neighbour Princes; the name signifying mine and thine. It were well for the Christian world if there had been an occasion to build more such like Cities; but this iron age hath been more successful, or rather fatal in pulling down the old, then in building up new Cities. It were the presage of happy times at hand, if once there were a good agreement established between the power of the Rulers, and liberty of their Subjects, that neither might encrease upon the others rites and liberties. Thus much of the civil affairs relating to the Heads of Israel.

2. In the second place, the Military concerns of Israel call for no little prudence and skill, sometimes as much streffs and difficulty is found here as in the former. Intricacies may be so interwoven, that it may prove very difficult to know what Israel ought to do. The Church is sometimes compared to a Lilly among Thorns; there will need Gloves of iron to handle such thorns and prickng Bryars. These may want also as well courage to know how, as wisdom to know what to do. *Dolus an virtus---* yea sometimes God may be provoked to vex a people with all adversity. He may raise such a tempest in a Nation, as both head and Members may be at their wits end, not knowing what to do. Hence it hath been found in former times, that no manner of persons ever gained more interest in the hearts of People, then those that have manfully undertook, and successfully accomplished their way. Gideon is a Judge by Gods Election, and might have been a King by the peoples but David must be a King by the call and consent of both. In former times, none were Kings but such as had been Captains, they being accounted the fittest to govern a People in time of peace, that had led them, or saved them in time of War. That valiant achievement of Saul against the Amonites reconciled him to all his People with the highest degree of acceptance, and stopped the mouthes of all the Sons of Belial that were opened against him, at his first call to the Kingdome. Yet will it be found a truth, what that warlike people of Rome were wont to say, *Parvi sunt foris arma, nisi est consilium domi.* I shall only therefore here crave

leave to commend some considerations to your acceptance on this account, as are obvious to them that have had the least acquaintance with the sacred History.

1. It is never safe to take a Dog by the ears : so Solomon tells us, Prov. 26. 17. that is to meddle with an unnecessary strife, or begin a War without just ground. This is one part of the power of the Sword, which as the Magistrate beareth not in vain, so neither must he take it in vain, for he that so taketh the Sword, as our Saviour speaks, Mat. 26. 52. may expect to perish by the Sword : there is nothing more necessary then self preservation; and our friends as our Country are part of our selves. Nor is actual confederation alwayes necessary for taking up Arms in the behalf of our friends, as appears by the Instance of Abraham and Lot, yet had there need be great care had, that an unnecessary war be not undertaken, for the War is on one side an heinous evil or Murder, on both it is a Judgement.

2. War ought not to be made without good advice, Prov. 20. 18. & 24. 6. which is to be understood as well of the managing, as of the first engaging in a War. Josiah by over hasty resolves engages himself and his people in a fatal War, which proved the ruine of both. 'Tis true, when a Nation or people are ripe for a judgment, God doth judicially bring it upon them, yet according to the mediate causality, it may be the imprudences, indiscretion, and want of Faith in Gods promises, not asking counsel at Gods Oracle, that may be the immediate cause. David though he had alwayes managed his war with the greatest success, yet he may seem the most timorous warrior in the World, but it was from an holy fear; he never daring to enter or begin a Battel where he was not sure of God to be his Second, or rather his Leader, Therefore we finde that he made more use of Gods Ephod, then of Goliaths Sword. Gideon though in Gods account a mighty Man of valour, yet to his own sense seems a very fearful and weak man, because his dependence was upon Gods word, more then his own valour.

3. Off'r violence to no man, Luke. 3. 14. a necessary rule for all men of warre to walk by; so then we must not doe wronge to the innocent be they Indians or English. David was in a temptation to doe wronge to the innocent in Nabils family, by having the sword in his hand, but he blessed God for the advice sent him in the mouth of a woman, which prevented his unthatching it against the innocent.

4. Let not him that putteth on his harness boast himself as he that puts it off. 1. Kings. 20. 10. 11. It is not the wisest way to divide the Beares skin, before the bear be killed. They that overcome before they begin to fight, never may have cause to boast of their victory. Upon serious thoughts the sad losses and slaughter that have befallen this poor Countrey, in the present warre, can be imputed to nothing more then to the contempt of our enemies

mies, or overweening thoughts of our owne skill and courage. It is never good to despise a small enemy.

5 Let them that undertake a Warr first sit down and count whither they can with ten thousand, deal with them that come against them with twenty thousand. *Luke. 14. 31.* The Israelites in the wilderness, and the Jewes in Jeremiahs time will needs stand it out with their enemies, and try the battel, when they have neither promise nor probability of success. The advice which once Herennius in Italy gave to his Country-men is very considerable, the substance of which was that they should deal courteously with their enemies (some of whom they had at that time in their hands) if they feared they might not safely destroy them, and thereby draw upon themselves the hatred of a people too hard for them. Sometimes it may be much better to ask Counsell at Abel, and end the matter without blood, then to let the young men (as Abners phrase is) play with the sword, which may prove bitterness in the end. Sometimes a victory will scarce countervail the charge or the hazzard and difficulties it may be accompanied with, which made a Prince once return this sorrowfull reply to one that did congratulate his Victory, that such an other would have undone him. Such is the solemn Dispensation of God to our selves in the present warr with the Indians, that we must say, the God of our Salvation hath not answered us, but by terrible things in righteousness. And we may commend it to posterity, as sometimes was said by the Historian. *multo sanguine ac vulneribus ea victoria stetit* i.e. we must write upon it, that our victories have cost us much blood and many wounds. But the Almighty the Lord of Hosts can turn New-Englands *B noni* into a *Benjamin*, which he grant for his mercyes sake.

6. Wisdome is better then weapons of warr, for wisdome delivered the city when the strength of the Inhabitants failed. And wisdome will direct when the iron is blunt. Joab deserved to be captain more for his conduct then his courage, though he were not defective in the latter. And may it not be said of many of our young men, that have so sadly fallen by the edge of the Sword of late, that it was for want of something else, more then for lack of courage.

It being observed eminently how the old inmate valour of the English nation still lives in their posterity of which Commes once said, that there was no nation more greedy of Battel, nor more impatient of delays that way then the English.

As Arrows in the hand of a mighty man, so are Children of the youth, says the Psalmist, *psal. 127. 4.* and the prophet *Zech. 9. 13.* speaks of filling the bow with Ephraim, now the reason why the Arrow misses the mark, most usually is, in not taking right aime, or in not sending forth the Arrow with meet strength. Our Children blessed be God, have not been afraid

to speak with the Enemy in the Gate, yet hath death strangely found them unawares, not allowing them liberty to bid defiance to their Enemies, sheltered by the covert of the woods, while themselves lay in open view of danger.

7. Looking up to God, who is the Lord of Hosts, he turns the scale of victory to which side he pleases. He taught Davids hands to War, and his fingers to fight, he was a man of War from his Youth, experienced in all feats of Arms, difficulties of Wars, hazard of Battel, and danger of secret Ambushments, yet was he alwayes fearful of encountring until he saw God marching before him in the head of his Army, 1 Chron. 14, 15. He was designed of God to cut down the Trees of the Wilderness that overshadowed the Vine brought out of Egypt, which never thrived nor became very fruitful till David had the pruning of it, or the dressing of the Ground when it was planted.

Those that are Leaders of Israel, whether in things Civil or Military, have need of one other gift also besides wisdom and courage, and faith in Gods promises, viz. Patience, that after they have done the will of God, and served their Generation, they may expect their reward from God, and not from men. David so found it that upon every occasion his people were ready either to fall from him, or arise against him, which made him bless God for keeping him from the strivings and tumults of the people, as well as from the raging of his Enemies. *Qui regit*, said Luther, *signum est in quo Satan omnia jacula dirigit. Magistrates are as the Butts against which Satan casts all his Arrows.* However, it is their duty to continue constant in their service: and if they, after all their labour, and difficulties, and hazards of all sorts, wherein they may have ventured their lives far for the good of others, they come to be crowned with Thorns instead of Laurel. It is no more then what the chief Captain of our Salvation underwent before them. But thus much may suffice for the second Branch of the Application, respecting such as may be called to supply the place of heads in Israel.

3. The third and last respects the people in general, or who ever are as Subjects under the care and conducts of the heads in Israel, to all of whom I may say, in the words of our Saviour, Luk. 10. 37. *go & do you likewise*, Here is a compleat pattern in this Text. Do you all say as Hushii said, His and theirs will we be whom God and his people, by this dayes Election shall continue in, or call into the place of Government in this our Tribe. God in his Providence, hath in a way of subordination cast you under the charge of such heads, as have understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do, the inference is both very cogent, & very natural, be you at their command. You are called to do, not dispute the lawful commands of them who are over you in the Lord, and that by your own choice. A notable General once going
out

out of Rome, and making a speech to the people, as the manner then was, before his departure out of the city, among other things told them, that if any of them thought themselves wise enough to manage the warre, they should goe along with him to assist him by their counsel, or else rule their tongues at home, for he should manage things not it may be, to their expectation, but as he saw occasion. It is observed in the history of the flourishing Commonwealth of the Romanes, that much of their success could be ascribed to nothing more, under the overruling hand of divine providence then the strict discipline and observation of order amongst them, both civil in the Common-wealth in time of peace, and military abroad in the time of warre. One reports of a Souldier under Augustus, that in the prosecution of a bittle, being about to slay one of his enemies that then was in his power, hearing a retreat sounded, forbore, using these words, *malum est heuere Duci, quam occidere Hostem*, accounting the glory of obedience to his Commander greater then that of victory over his enemy. Here were a large field to expatiate in if time and other occasions would give leave to let the discourse run on that subject, but considering in regard of the present distress of the war that hath lyen so long upon us, that something may be expected from me on that account, either to search after the cause, why all this great evil is come upon us, or by propounding something by way of remedy, I shall in the next place apply my self to speak something as God shall assist, that way.

The time was not long since, that we in New England might have said with Job, the eye that saw us, whither of friends or foes, was ready to bless us, or envy our prosperity, and might be ready to say as Balam sometimes did, (when his eyes were opened) as the beholding of the tabernacle of God amongst us, in the midst of the Standards of our four united Colonies, encamping round about, *How goodly are thy tents O Jacob, and thy Tabernacles O Israel? Surely there is no divination against Jacob nor enchantment against Israel.* When the Candle of God shined upon our head, by whose light we walked through darkness. We washed our steps with butter, and the rock poured us out rivers of oyl, as Job speaks. When God first brought this vine out of another land where it might be much overshadowed, he cast out the heathen, and planted it, he caused it to take deep root, and it was ready to fill the land; the hills began to be covered with the shadow of it, its boughs began to look like goodly cedars: it might have been said in some sense, that we sent our boughs to the Seas, and our branches to the rivers: But now we may take up the Lamentation following, Why are our hedges broken down, and the wild boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast out of the field doth devour it? It is burnt with fire, it is cut down, we perish at the rebuke of his countenance, yet is he the Almighty, we have looke

up to him to behold and visit this vine, but he seems not as yet willing to look down upon us, he seems only to look on, not willing to engage in our quarrels, as a way-faring man that turns aside for a night, as a mighty man that cannot save. May we not expostulate further with the Psalmist, The heathen are come into thine inheritance, O God, The dead bodies of thy Servants, some of them have they given to be meat to the fowles of heaven, the flesh of thy servants to the beasts of the earth, Their blood have they shed like water, and there is none to bury them. How long Lord, wilt thou be angry for ever, shall thy jealousy burn like fire before thou pour thy wrath upon the heathen that have not, and will not know thee, nor call upon thy Name? How high the Lord covered our Sion with a cloud in his anger, how many men and women here present may say, we are the men and the women, the persons that have seen affliction by the rod of his wrath. Here is one like old Jacob ready to lay, his gray hairs will be brought down with sorrow to the grave, and that he shall go mourning thither after the children of his old age. There is another with Rachel, weeping and will not be comforted, because her children are not: they are gone into captivity never to return, or removed into the other world by the sword of the enemy. Doth not many an one sit solitary in widowhood, that before might take much content in the husband of her youth, that now of the children which they brought into the world, have none to take them by the hand. Surely affliction doth not spring out of the dust, nor doth trouble arise out of the ground: Doubtless there is some root of bitterness, whence this Gall & wormwood of affliction hath proceeded, After this and that time of seeking God, we looked for deliverance, and behold trouble came. Many sad troubles have befallen us in former years, and now one of the worst is come upon us, the Sword, and that of a cruel enemy, which uses not to be drawn upon Gods owne people till lesser chastisements have proved ineffectual. But some may say for what great evil is it, that God hath thus changed his hand toward us, and what may be the cause of this great Anger?

I shall offer my thoughts in a few words.

1. In the first place I can presume none reflect upon the constitution of our Government, either in Church or State. Wise Master-builders have laid the foundation of the Building, a better who can desire to be laid, either for the liberty of the people, or just power of them that rule? Were not our foundations laid with Saphyres, and our stones with fair colours? Was not the pattern in the mount, the rule that was attended in the laying of our platform of Order? Was there any Temptation upon the minds of them that were concerned in that work to swerve there from to the right hand or to the left. Or if any disposition, or the least inclination had been discerned that way, had you not power to have laid those aside & placed others in

in their room and stead? Much might be said here if there were need.

2. If you enquire into the succession of our Leaders, and Sacerdotalism of the persons called to supply the room of them that having served their generation, are now fallen a sleep in the Lord. Have they not acted according to former principles, and shewed the same spirit of Faith and Holiness Zeal for Gods glory and purity of worship, the same love to God and his ways? Have they built hay or stubble upon the Foundation formerly laid? It hath alwayes been the humour of those that follow to be ready to complain of the present age wherein they live, which Solomon checks as proceeding from want of judgment, *Ecclesi. 7. 10.* Thou enquirest not wisely concerning this matter. Every age doth not yield a David nor a Solomon. Yet it is observed, things went well in Judah in Rehoboams time, *2 Chron. 12. 12.* so long as the ordinances were duly observed about Gods worship, good judgment and justice executed, and in many of the Princes and people good things were found. Much more was this to be acknowledged in the reign of Aza, and Jehosaphat, though of them it might be said, *non nulla desiderantur*. yet they aimed at the best pattern in Sincerity. Their hearts were perfect with the Lord their God, as was the heart of David their father. Possibly some upon every Check and frown of providence against us, may be ready with Saul to call for the Lot to be cast, and will be too forward without a perfect Lot, to say the cause is in Saul or in Jonathan, or in the people. Or else adde there is some Achan in the camp, and Jonas in the Ship, that must immediately be made a sacrifice to divine Justice, as they may misconceive. We must not lye for God, and need be carefull we doe not entitle divine Providence to the mistakes of our minds, and make God speak that by his providence, which never entered into his heart. Of many outward changes it is most certain, that we can know neither love nor hatred thereby. Some men may be ready to say, there is too much indulgence towards men of corrupt mindes, and it is to be feared in some of our Rulers too. It is two to one if some doe not say the contrary. For we know what animadversions have been made by men of other persuasions, none had need give any occasion to such misconstructions of Gods hand, by an ungrounded sitting of times with events. Were it not a more probable way for us to know our own duty, (that is the surest way to know the mind of God concerning our selves) and engage to doe it, letting alone those things wherein possibly we may not be all of one minde: Forgetting therefore those things that are behind, as the Apostle speaks, let us set upon those things that are before us, wherein we are all agreed upon our duty, leaving the other to the decision of further light and after times. *Domus et dies revelabit.* A divided language hindered the building of Babel, and forced the undertakers to desist, as the Poet expresses it, one sayes make that rope fast, the other lets it fly. How then

can we conceive it should tend to build up Sion. No doubt but an unguided and indiscreet zeal in many to promote, or profess their opinions in the most publick manner, hath done much mischief in the world. And possibly a like effort to suppress them, by undue means hath done some. Let no mans good be evill spoken of. Peradventure some men might have let fall their opinions or errors, as the Traveller hid his cloake, if they had not been too boisterously and rudely set upon by their opposites. If we find *cor bonum & longum*, as one said of Swenfeld, though there want *caput regulatum Calvinum*, we should not cast away the gold because of the dross mingled with it. Although they are in a great error that out of love to the wine, swallow down the dregs after it, yet they are in a greater that refuse the good liquor because of the Lees in the bottome. The best wheat hath its chaff. God may reveal more of his mind to those that differ from us as well as to our selves, could we but have patience to wait his leisure. And we should the rather commiserate the infirmities of other mens understandings, because our own are not as yet arrived at perfection. So much modesty becomes every Christian, as not to condemn all he doth not understand, so neither to call for fire from heaven against any that may differ from him. Nor is every one to be taxed as a party in the case, that is not so forward as another to call for a civil sword, to end the controversie. Possibly some in the world have already experienced the verification of our Saviours words, in this sense, they that take up the sword shall perish with the sword. Paul tells us *Rom. 14. 5. 6.* he that keepeth or regardeth the day, regardeth it to the Lord: He that regardeth not the day to the Lord he doth not regard it. All mens Consciences are not enlightened in the same degree. Were it not better to debate the cause with our neighbours, with those we dissent from, and not so peremptorily to entitle Gods truth to the private apprehensions of our selves, or our owne party, in such cases where possibly the whole truth is not revealed; such proceedings it may be, doe but embolden disengaged standers by to complain of both, as befell Beza & Erastus in their contest about Lay-Elders.

4. It cannot be denied but that these corruptions have too too many abounded amongst us that usually are concomitant, with long peace and outward prosperity. Standing waters are more apt to corrupt and grow putrid. The best tempered blades are apt to abate of their edge by disuse or to be eaten with rust. But are not all scandalous evils been witnessed against by Authority both Civil and Ecclesiastical, by executing wholsome Laws, and Church censures: are not evil doers removed, that all Israel may fear, and fear, to run into presumptuous evils: and are there not many hopeful buds springing up amongst the rising Generation, on whom that blessed promise, *Isai. 44. 3.* begins to take place, I will pour my Spirit upon thy Seed, and my Blessing upon thy off spring. Is there not found in them a great

readiness

readiness to give up themselves to the work and service of their Generation: Such as have offered themselves willingly, and have not loved their lives to the death. You have had Presidents of your Colonies and Colledges, that have been bred or brought up in the Country; Hath not God in a great measure been ready to make good what he hath spoken by the Prophet Amos I will power of my Spirit upon your young men. And chosen of such to be Nazirites, is it not thus? If any think I am too long upon this Theam, they may consider the readiest way to obtain a return of the like favour, or a continuance of the former, is, thankfully to acknowledge what is, as well as what hath been. He that hath done this, can do yet more. God is but waiting for an opportunity of our thankfulness and humility to turn his face toward us that we may be saved.

5. Gods providential dispensations toward his People ordinarily hold a proportion with his former promises: God is ordinarily wont to be with his People, while they are with him: for although he may out of his absolute Sovereignty turn aside out of the ordinary road of his dealings without giving us an account, as he did with Job: And with the whole Church, *Psal.* 43. 17. All this is come upon us, yet have we not forgotten thee, nor dealt deceitfully in thy Covenant, and Gods dispensations toward his Elect in their particular persons are more various; yet as to Provinces and people that profess his Name God doth usually suit his dispensations with the ways of his people, in all ages it hath been so, specially under the Law: under the Gospel, God hath been pleased to order events something otherwise: though still it is found a truth, that Godliness hath the promise of the life that now is, and that which is to come; yet may it be observed, that in the primitive times, when was evidenced the great pourings out of the Spirit, may be greater then ever shall be again till the general Resurrection; there were never sadder calamities that befel the people of God in all former ages. Herein was God pleased to discover the power of his Grace, in not suffering the Bush to be consumed, though the fire was increased seven fold, even by that admirable way of manifestation of the faith and patience of the Saints was the World convinced of the truth of the Gospel, that he who was in them that professed it, was greater then he that was in the World which opposed it, in that all the World could do, they could not put a stop to the progress of Christs Kingdome. Their hearts were then raised to so eminent a degree of holiness and piety, (being refined by that fire of persecution from their Dross) that they could discern the least buddings of sin, and the first rise of any worldly lusts, which made them ready to condemn themselves under those several fiery Tryals in the Furnace of affliction (wherein they were Gods chosen Jerusalem) as if those judgements of the Sword of persecution, were only occasioned by some defection in their sincerity, and

or want of upright walking with God. And sure, there might be cause even for that virgin and pure Church to condemn themselves for some spots or wrinkles in their garment which is abundantly evident in those expressions uttered in the Epistles to the seven Churches in Asia: so that their afflictions through the admirable concurrence of divine providence might happen for correction, as well as for temptation and trial. If we of this Country, the many Churches here seated, should look out faces in the Glasse, may not we have cause to take up the like complaint concerning our selves, which they often did, or were bound to do, Rev. 2. 5. They that shall wisely and seriously consider the several ingredients in this cup of trembling (we have been made all to drink of more or less) may give a near guess at the disease either we have laboured under, or are running into. It uses to be a rule with the Divine Physician as well as others, *abstare principiis, et venienti currere morbo*. If any dare be confident to say, they are not far gone of some dangerous Spiritual malady it self, what if God will have his Servants in the first planting of the Gospel in the West, have some experience of the like changes with them in the East parts of the World? or cause it to befall us as it did Nehemiah in the building of the Temple after the return from Babylon, that they were forced to carry the Weapon of War in the one hand and the Trowel in the other.

And what if it should be found that Israel hath sinned, and it is as yet hid from our Rulers, as well as from our selves? there hath been some things objected against the proceedings with the Indians, both in times foregoing as well as later, relating both to the present war and former peace, of which it were sad if there were cause to say, *Hac die perisse, et non potuisse rescilli*. But I intend not to meddle with things out of my line, or above my Sphere. Therefore leaving those things that are yet latent or doubtful, and come to those things about which we may all agree, I hear, that as before it hath been said by some, God hath a controversy with New-England, so now that the rod of affliction, hath not only budded and blossomed, but brought forth its fruit, may we not all conclude, that there are some matters of offence, that God hath against us, that notwithstanding all threatnings, and solemn warnings both by the word as well as by the works of God, could not be reformed. Therefore God was not willing to lay aside his quarrel against us. And for this and that transgression would not turn away the punishment of New-England. I shall instance but in two things, as to my own observation, most likely to render us obnoxious to such severe animadversions from the Almighty, and wherein we have been, as I apprehend, most apt to offend, 1. Spiritual Pride. 2. A Spirit of Worldly-mindedness: wishing, that whatever else hath been reckoned amongst provoking evils by other hands upon like occasions; might seriously be considered and amended.

That which leads me to pitch upon the two forementioned evils, as the procuring cause of these sad corrective dispensations of God toward us, is because it is most probable, that it is something, that lies as a worm at the root and vitals of Religion, threatening and endangering a great decay, and withering of the power of godliness, that neither civil nor ecclesiastical censures can reach, which is the matter to be reformed, some secret heart evil, that is likely to bring a Consumption upon the very vitals, and power of Religion; and such are those two premised evils. For the first of these, viz.

1. Spiritual Pride, it is ready to hide it self like Saul amongst the stubble, being too often found mingled with good things and commendable vertues, *quia cetera in peccatis ipsis, superbia in ipsis recte factis timenda*, pride is oft to be found in things well done. This sin hath that advantage, that it is not only consistent with, but is apt as it were to spring from our very graces, and good works, or arise among them, as Tares were found in the field where wheat was at first sown, and also found growing; men may accidentally come to be lifted up, upon the consideration of their gifts, parts, privileges, yea graces and duties well performed. Pride, though no weed else, was found in Paradise it self, no wonder then if it should be found in the best Churches upon the Earth.

2. Spiritual pride is an evil, the very best of Gods Children are incident unto, witness David and Hezekiah, in whom it did not only bud but blossome, and Paul the very chief of the Apostles, in whom it had some kind of root, and might have budded, if it had not been nipped by the thorn in the flesh, sent him in mercy from God, that he might not be exalted above measure, and so fall into the same condemnation of the Devil.

God will rather have his people poor and humble, then rich and proud, rather pent up in a corner, then roomthy, and swollen with pride, rather distressed and oppressed, then enlarged to wandring and security; yea if it be but to prevent the prevailing, or the appearance of such a distemper. *Serò medicina paratur*, &c. therefore God will prevent the first rise of evil in his people; that there may be no spot found amongst them, so unbecoming his Children.

3. Spiritual pride is a sin very provoking and offensive in the sight of God. He will hold such at a distance, it is not the spot of his Children. Davids Murder and Adultery shall sooner be pardoned without publick penance, then his spiritual pride. There is he compelled to make a publick confession and recantation of this evil, when he sees the Angel standing with a drawn Sword over Jerusalem. What have these poor sheep done, let thine hand be against me, and against my fathers house, 2 Sam. 24. Nor can Hezekiahs pride be passed by, till he humble himself greatly, and all Jerusalem with him, 2 Chron. 32. 26. Yea Paul himself shall be buffeted, as well as feel the thorn in

in the flesh, for the removal of the badge of this offensive evil.

4. This is not the first time that this sin hath been putting up head in New-England, and solemnly testified against in this place; *sed verbum sat sapienti.*

5. There may be cause to fear, yea and to declare also that spiritual pride is too evident in New-England at this time, notwithstanding all complaints and humbling providences of God in former times. Not to make any mention here of that effeminate childish pride in habit, attire (which it is much the grave and prudent example of the Sober, and wiser persons, the restraint of the heads of Families cannot reform without the help of civill Lawes) and that in those of the meaner sort, where it most reigns and is most offensive. Let all things be done decently and in order. What ever the pride of any mean persons may prompt them to think, whatever is not according to order, is very indecent; *sc.* for the peasant to equal the prince, or imitate him in garbe or in gite, or for the handmaid to emulate her mistress. Will not this occasion the base to behave themselves proudly against the Honourable, a fore-runner of sad confusion breaking in upon a degenerating people. *I/a. 3* Kings Daughters were of old threatned for their strange Apparel, which it may be did not much exceed some of our dayes. Soft Raiment is the cognizance of Kings houses, not the badge of pilgrims and strangers Families. Yet had the children of princes and Kings daughters their ornaments which it was not customary for others to imitate. The prudent husband-man uses more to be delighted in the busie, active yet sable Bee, then in the gaudy Butterfly, which it may be ranges all over the field to get only fine colours wherewith to paint her wings, from those flowers whence the other diligent creatures fetch both wax and honey, wherewith they both build their houses, and furnish them with provision, to feed themselves, and refresh their owners, while the other are but the object of childrens sport.

Let all due testimony be borne against this kind of pride, so abounding, but it is another sort, spiritual pride, that is so offensive in the sight of God, and is indeed the root whence the other springs, with many other hairous evils that are apt to provoke the Lord to jealousy: and which is the sin of the professing part of the Country as well as of others: which is but too evident in the conceitedness of mens gifts of their priviledges, liberties and Estates, whence is apt to proceed elaceness of minde, haughty looks, supercilious contempt of others, needless separation from, rigid censures of men equal to, if not better then themselves; implicableness, with other each like disposition of minde. This is the root from whence spring all those scandalous breaches, sharp contentions, paroxismes of division: for only by pride says Solomon, Prov. 13. 10. comes contention: from this fountain springs those bitter strifes, in Towns and Churches, that prove like a *malignant* *rangers*, that admit of no healing or remedy, but like some incurable disease
converts

convert the meanes applyd for the remedy to increase the malady.

Disorders of all sorts spring from hence, and that in every respect, for hence it is that Leaders are not good enough to command, and that Followers are too good to obey; the Centurion in the Gospel found no such difficulty in his way, I say to one go and he goeth, of them that are under me, to another come and he cometh; yet was he a man under the authority of others, as himself acknowledgeth. This was of old a presage of ruining dissensions in old Rome, *Pompeius vix parem, Caesar vix priorem, quæ ferre possit*, when there are such Chasmaes and hiatus's in the superiour or inferiour parts of a State, they are sad Omens, portending ruine. The observation of the fifth Command, that first Command of promise, as was said before, leads the way to the due observance of all the rest. Were you not afraid to speak against my Servant Moses? God was never reconciled to that proud, stiff-necked unsubdued Generation that murmured and rebelled against Moses & Aaron, but consumed them in the Wilderness. From this root of bitterness also proceed those other evill fruits of Jealousies, Envy, &c. not that holy Jealousie, or fear concerning others, the Apostle had over the Corinthians, which he calls a godly Jealousie lest Satan should beguile them. This is nothing but a regular fear lest any thing should disturb the peace or violate the purity of what we love: But the other is an ungrounded fear lest others should out-doe us, or be preferred before us; not willing others should stand by us or near us, attended with a kind of hatred if they doe. This pride also is the root of the evill affections of Envy, which is like salt water, which makes the straightest thing seem crooked that is put into it. This is a great vanity, of which the wise man complained, that for every right work a man should be envied of his neighbour, which yet springs from this root of pride. Some entertain such an opinion concerning themselves, as they conceive nothing can be well done if they have not an hand therein, whereas Paul is content and rejoyceth that Christ is preached though himself be shut up in prison, that the truth is at liberty though himself be in bonds. This spirit of pride maintains that office of Lying, which was complained of not long since in this place, detracting from, or defrauding of others. Hence also is that Self-willedness, that spirit of revenge whereby some cannot bear to be opposed, but must be chief, and will have their wills though they turn every stone, *Tantani animis celestibus ira*. But with too many as he said tis true, *mors mihi pro regno*. This spirit of willfull Revenge was it, that brought that sore scourge of God upon some parts of the Christian world, for it made some that could not, as the Poet speaks, *stare Superos, Achæonta movere*, that they might be revenged on those, from whom they might have received some lesser injury, for it called the Saracens and Moors into Spain, from whence it could never be recovered again in seven hundred years. This opened the Gates of Buda, that impreg-

able Bulwark of Hungary, to let in the Turks, that some might have their wills of their Christian neighbours and friends, to revenge a private injury with a publick and perpetual mischief. Thus this pride of mens hearts will make them turn Indians, that they may be revenged of their Brethren. Abram will rather recede from his right then contend with his Brother, when the Cananite and Perizzite was then in the land. O my soul come not thou into their secret: unto their assemblies be not thou united, in me honour, for in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall *Gen. 49.6*. This is the first of the two grand evils among t us as it is to be feared.

2. The second is like unto this as to its secret and pr evailing nature, and alike odious in the sight of God, *sc.* That spirit of Covetousness and inordinate love of the world, that is so inconsistent with the love of the Father. This sin lyes as a Barr of sepeation betwixt God and his people, ye cannot serve God and Mammon. This is a lust that will drown mens Souls in perdition, *1.Tim. 6.* much more their Bodyes and estates. This is apt to choak the fruit of the most hopefull Soyl, direct Idolatry, and Apostacy, no wonder therefore it is called the root of all evil. Yec doth this sin slyly insinuate it self into the heart of the forwardest Professors, and is ready to speak to them as the Serpent did to Eve, hath God indeed said you may not meddle with this or that desirable fruit of the world. This is a sin apt to ly in wait for and easily ensnare a Reforming people. This will not be the first time that it hath been ready to bane Reformation, as may be seen *Hag. 1.8.* for it may stand with the highest outward form of Religion, Church membership, pure Worship, and the strictest kind of discipline, witness the Pharisees that were so strict observers of the Law, & as touching the righteousness thereof, blameless. And Judas that carried the Bag, yet was a pensioner of Satan, though outwardly in the visible Kingdome of Christ, yea in his Family, yet as little suspected as any of the rest. What complaints have been made against this sin in the Church, and Lawes made against it in the Commonwealth, yet still it lives and hides it self as if there were no coming at it. It lyes secretly lurking in the hearts of Professors, and is brooded by pretence of one thing or other Necessity, Frugality, Sobriety &c. Sin can put a specious pretence not only of civill prudence, but of Religion also, upon his covetous practice & way, expressly contradicting the Command of God. The Ballances of deceit were in the hand of Ephraim, with a secret love to oppress in his Marchandize, yet who can find any Iniquity in his Dealings, that were sin? *Hos. 12.8.* How are mens desires apt to be enlarged after the world as hell, & their hearts unsatisfied as the grave, that makes them able to devour widdows houses, yet never say it is enough. They that first came over hither for the Gospel could not well tell what to doe with more Land then a small number of acres yet now men more easily swallow down so many hundreds and are not satisfied

fed, if they be but never so little strengthened, they must remove where they may have room enough, that can part with a good neighbourhood, and the the beautifull heritage of Church communion, or Gospel Worship, to pitch with Lot in the Confinnes of Sodom. There was a sad curse laid upon Jerecho the city of the Moon, an emblem of this lower world, which reformed churches should trample under their feet, that whoever should build it again, should lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son, which it is well if some mens hearts doe not mis-give them, as if the hand of God that hath been writing bitter things against us, hath not amongst others written some such thing as this. Is not this to set up new Gods? Is it a wonder then that we find war in our gates. God is knocking the hands of New-England people off from the world, and from new Plantations, till they get them new hearts, resolved to reform this great evil. These things may seem harsh, yet when the Lord is crying aloud in his providence, who can forbear speaking in this kind. The Lyon hath roared, who will not fear, the Lord hath spoken, who can but prophesie *Am. 3. 8* Nivard in Burgundy once told his fellow brethren, Bernard & Guido, (who had newly renounced the world, and entred into Monasteries, telling their other brother, that they had left him all their earthly possessions) that they had made no equal division, taking heaven for themselves, and leaving him what was here below. It may be God hath observed some of his children here doing the contrary, too ready to exchange the Kingdome of heaven for earthly possessions, and therefore sayes he will undoe this bargain, as we use to doe the foolish bargains of our Children. If this be the guise of New England, or that there appears any disposition that way, It is no wonder if God our great Land-lord, layes his arrest upon our tillage, and straines for his glory, as our divine Astronomer tells us in the prognostick of this present year.

Thus honoured and respected in the Lord, you that are the Heads and Leaders of our Tribes, I have endeavoured to set before you the two great Evills that I humbly conceive may most probably be lookt upon, not as the least of the procuring causes of these chastisements, in letting loose the rage of the Heathen against us, so far as any deserving cause may be found in us.

God tells his people of old, that he will move them to jealousy by them that are no people, and provoke them by a foolish nation, i.e. by those whom they despised and most contemned, *Deut. 32. 21*. How have we been too apt to speak contemptibly of the Indians, as if one of us could drive hundreds of them; It may be it hath been so in former times, when God put the dread of us upon them that were round about us. Sampson after his Delilah enchantments, thought to have done as at other times, but he wist not that God was departed from him. There is a great deal of odds, when God is with his people, and when he is against them. Providences have seemed strangely

strangely to work against us, but it may be to humble us and prove us, that he may doe us good in the latter end. God may have other ends also that he aims at in these solemn Dispensations, that doe not yet appear : and when he hath performed his whole work upon our Zion, he will punish the stout heart of our enemies as we trust,

One other end that God may have, may be to teach us Warre, as was said *Jud. 3. 2.* at least those that knew nothing of it before, which in a Sence is true of most of us. The knowledge of any thing that is gotten by experience is quite another kind from that which is acquired by other meanes. We knew nothing of the practick of warr, we should never have learnt by all our [Trainings and Artilleryes in former times : and it is well if they have not taught us something else, which God is now unteaching us. We see now plainly that it is one thing to drill a Company in a plain Champagne and another to drive an enemy through the desert woods. Yet Gods Israel need not be discouraged, God may be in the midst of us, though we doe not yet so manifestly discern him as we wish for, and is going up with a shout *Psa. 45. 7.* He uses to sit as a Refiner over his fire. And when he hath prepared the Soyle by ploughing and harrowing he will cast in the precious Seed. Light is sown for the righteous, & joy for the upright in heart. They that sow in tears, shall reap in Joy. God doth not at any time willingly afflict the Children of men, but at no time over afflict them.

If you enquire what remedy may be prescribed against the two fore-mentioned evils, feared to be too far grown, or growing upon us : I shall at present advise but to this one Catholick remedy ; and that is Christian charity, there is a medicament which they call *Unguentum Apostolorum* so named from the number of the ingredients, this I now mentioned may more properly be so called, but rather the example and authority then the number of the Apostles, who in their writings as well as their Lord and Master in his Doctrine did so much insist upon it, Above all these put on charity, *Col. 3. 14.* Charity is the fulfilling of the Law ; so as if that had been duely attended in our hearts and lives, as well as in our professions, it would have at first prevented the miscarriages of our Churches, and may on that ground be the most likely means to heal us and revive things amongst us, to their primitive state of purity and perfection, for when did iniquity abound, but when the love of many began to wax cold. When a learned man in the former age once read some part of the Gospel, he suddenly broke forth into these words, *ant hoc non est evangelium. ant nos non sumus evangelici*, so may one say of our times, when he reads *1 Cor. 13.* *ant hoc non est charitas, ant nos non sumus charitate imbuti.* The genuine race of this heavenly plant is almost worne out of knowledge in the world. Paul complains in his time that all men sought their own things, and none the things of Jesus Christ : what would that holy Apostle say, that had the care

of all the Churches still lying upon his heart, if he were alive and present amongst us in this generation.

If I had the tongue of Men and Angels, and but one hours time to speak unto you, I could not better improve it, then by pressing upon you a conscientious care and endeavour to exercise and practise this excellent grace, this most christian virtue, which might be thought a superfluous thing thus to press, as one not long since expressed, did we only know the Gospel and not the lives of them that profess it.

And I seriously affirm, I know no way else to advance the name of Christianity to its pristine glory in the world. The flourishing beauty of this heavenly grace, was that which did so strangely metamorphose the visage and face of things at first in the world, when was fulfilled that of Isaiah, that the wolf and the lamb should dwell together, and the leopard lie down with the kid. It was the verdant lustre of this divine grace, that turned the rough and barren wilderness of the world into a fruitful Carmel, or fragrant Sharon. When the Christian World had first put on this precious attire of Charity, the smell of its Garments were like Lebanon, as a field which the Lord had blessed. This spirit turned Shevir and Hermon those Lions dens and mountains of Leopards, into the holy and peaceable mountain of the Lord, where was found nothing that should hurt or destroy. But alas when this *servas astrareliquit*, when this spirit of love began to decay, then did iniquity and unrighteousness break in upon the Christian world like a torrent that carried all before it. Then did the Churches Sharon return back into the wilderness again, and then the excellency of Carmel began to shake off its fruits. Then did they nothing but hurt and destroy in all Gods holy Mountains: then was the Temple of God become a den of Thieves, a cage of ravenous and unclean birds, and so hath continued ever since, and so is like still to remain, till the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled and the years of Antichrist be run out, unless a mighty spirit of Grace be poured upon the World: For ever since the fatal seeds and dissensions paganized and degenerated Christendome, as one not unaptly tells them, are become the scandal of the Mahometans in the East, and we the pretended reforming Protestants of Europe, the divided sects of Luther and Calvin are become, if not the scorn of, yet less tremendous to those at Rome. And we may have great cause to fear, that the decay of this Grace in New-England, hath in a great measure been the procuring cause that hath brought this black Cloud upon the beautiful face of our Zion in these ends of the Earth. Paul complained in his time of a great decay of Charity, even where other gifts abounded: he tells the Corinthians they were carnal, and walked as men, not for want of other gifts of knowledge which passed up but for want of charity, which only edifies: in those times he found but few Timothies that cared for the good of others, but many Demasies that sought their own good, and many

Diotrephes that sought their own exaltation, and pre-erment, with the undervaluing and contempt of others; could Christians but be persuaded to put off this private selfish worldly Spirit, and put on humility, and charity, and manifest a publick Spirit; how would it again revive the glory of New-England Churches.

We have many complaints amongst us, could we but get our hearts stored with this Christian virtue, it would prove as a Balm out of Gilead, a soveraign remedy against all our troubles. This Grace of charity in the compleat and perfect exercise thereof would heal all our divisions, reform all our vices, root out all our disorders, make up all our breaches. This would cure all the morellianisme, and libertinisme in the Brethren of New-England Churches; and it would cure also all the Prelacy, and Presbyterianisme in the Elders of the said Churches: we should presently then have better thoughts one of another, for love thinketh no harm. So for other Maladies and Distempers in our minds, or distresses in our outward Estates, Charity would be like the Widows Oyle, that would never cease running till it had filled all the vessels. This would pay all our debts, and defray all our publick charges. This would relieve all our distressed friends, it would answer all the necessities of Church and State. This would feed all our poor, and clothe all our naked Brethren, and support all our Widows and Fatherless ones. It would maintain all our Ministers so, that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel: and this would at a more honourable rate, and without repining afford the bread of the Governour. In a word what would not charity do of this kind: publick Faith hath in several ages been bankrupt, but publick charity never was yet. The Churches Treasury of the primitive times, that was supplied only with this spring of charity was never drawn dry. Yea although the primitive christians were to encounter with all kinde of adversity, they consisted with Famine and Nakedness, with all kind of wants, yet was their Treasury never wasted. All the powers of the Earth were combined against them, and of Hell too, yet it never failed: I tell you if we could set up such a Bank of Christian Charity in New-England, it would prove a richer Store-house then all the Spanish Mines or Banks of Venice, or Amsterdam. This would make such an equal distribution of the things of this life through the whole Camp of Israel, that he who gathered much should have nothing over, and they that gathered little should have no lack: for this with contentment would make godliness the greatest gains to all that traded therein. Then would one Christian Brother, Neighbour and Friend, assist and strengthen each other, and all endeavours would be firmly engaged to promote the common good.

Thus Honoured, Reverend, much respected and beloved in the Lord I have endeavoured to commend something to your consideration from these words

words, speaking first unto you all in your several and distinct capacities, and at the last have attempted to bind you up all together in one bundle with the Bond of Charity, that bond of perfectness, could all the heads and Leaders of our Tribes be twitted together by the Spirit of love, it would make a threefold Cord that could not easily be broken: it would make our Forces how weak soever in themselves become an host like the host of God, though not in numbers, yet in virtue and power against which our Enemies should not be able to stand up. Were our Jerusalem thus compacted together, the Gates of Hell with all their instruments would never be able to undermine it, or prevail against it. *Sed hic Liber, hoc opus est.* It must be from him, who hath the seven Spirits in his right hand, whence this Spirit must be expected. The time and the work of the Day commands me to have done, and indeed I have but little more to add, which is only thus much;

It was the observation of a wise Statesman in the former age, concerning that famous and flourishing Commonwealth of the Romanes of old; *In republicâ Romanâ cives erant utilissimi, & optimè compoſiti, qui aut consules populo ſavebant aut tribuni in partes ſenatus inclinabant*, i. e. The Commonwealth of Rome never flourished so well, as when those in the highest place of Authority were wont to favour the interest of the Peoples Delegates, and on the other hand, when the delegates of the people were most apt to incline to the Rulers to maintain the dignity and authority of all such. By proportion I may add, it would tend not a little to the advancing a Christian state, where Elders of Churches are very tender of the liberty of the Brethren, and the Brethren likewise are regardful of the office, power of their Elders; where the elder people do encourage the younger with their gentle and courteous behaviour, as well as with their grave Examples, and prudent Counsels, and the younger sort of people are ready to reverence the aged, not behaving themselves proudly against the ancient, where the rich are liberal bountiful and compassionate to the poor, and the poor are likewise thankful and respectful to the other, and alwayes will when they meet, be ready to bless each other in the name of the Lord, as Boaz and his Reapers in the field. When those of Zebulun have cause to rejoyce in their going out, and the Children of Issachar dwell quietly and live comfortably together in their Tents at home, calling the people to the mountains to offer the Sacrifice of Righteousness. When one doth joyfully gather the fruits of the Earth, as the other shall suck the abundance of the Seas, and of the treasure hid in the Sands. How good and how pleasant would it be for any one to see the Heads and Brethren of each of our Tribes, thus to dwell together in Unity? doubtless it would be as the precious ointment on the head of Aaron our High Priest, as the dew of Hermon, and that which descended on the mountains of Sion, when the Lord commanded his Blessing even Life for evermore.